



Liberal Groups and the CIA

Why Don't They Give the Money Back?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

If you have taken tainted money, and regard it as such, shouldn't you give it back?

Ever since the *Ramparts* magazine exposure of those officials of the National Student Association who took money over the years from the Central Intelligence Agency and lived to have it plague their consciences, I have been waiting for them to refund the dirty money.

The total sum, according to the best reckoning available, would come to about \$3 million. Maybe a token restitution is all that is possible at this late date. But surely, if their ethical sense is what they say it is, the NSA leaders could easily find enough loose change in the pockets of morally stricken students to pay back that small sum of \$50,000. According to a New York *Times* dispatch, this represents a CIA contribution for the current year.

Apparently the morality of the NSA doesn't condemn any money that has already been received, for the same *Times* story remarks that "the Association said it had been trying to end the contributions for two years and would accept no money beyond the \$50,000 in its current budget."

Then there is the little matter of the United Automobile Workers' Reuther brothers, Walter and Victor, who have been critical of the alleged AFL-CIO involvement with the CIA. Thomas W. Braden, who worked for the CIA as assistant to Allen Dulles, says he "went to Detroit one morning and gave Walter \$50,000 in fifty-dollar bills."

The money, says Mr. Braden, was subsequently ladled out by Victor Reuther in West Germany to bolster labor unions there. Mr. Braden says that Victor spent the money "with less than perfect wisdom, for the German unions he chose to help weren't seriously short



Thomas W. Braden, left, a former CIA man, says he gave United Auto Workers chief Walter Reuther \$50,000 in taxpayers' funds for use in strengthening anti-Communist European labor unions.

of money and were already anti-Communist."

Walter Reuther remembers taking the money. Well, if the Reuther brothers are so ashamed of it now, why not return it to the U.S. Treasury? It wouldn't cost the United Automobile Workers very much. If the UAW should object to an assessment to cover a refund, the Reuthers could take up a collection—or, if their past behavior really burns them, they might even take it out of their own salaries.

I don't know what to say about the money from the CIA that went to finance the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which, in turn, passed some funds along to the London-based magazine, *Encounter*. The editors and associates of *Encounter* seem only to have heard "rumors" that the CIA was helping them out. Moreover, some of the *Encounter* editors and writers deny having profited by their contributions to the magazine.

Still, if Stephen Spender and Irving Kristol heard about "rumors" of CIA



support when they were on the *Encounter* masthead, shouldn't they have done something to run the rumors down at the time? And now that it seems clear from Mr. Braden's report that the CIA was involved in financing *Encounter*, shouldn't the ex-editors of that magazine try to clear the good name of their journalistic alma mater by starting a conscience fund to pay the money back?

Finally, there is something the National Student Association could do right now to clear what remains of its good name with those who think it was terrible to help their country out when it was engaged in mortal conflict with the Communists at the height of the Cold War.

The NSA, according to David Franke, editor of the Young Americans for Freedom magazine *New Guard*, has been using some Washington property rent-free. The CIA has, says Mr. Franke, been paying the rent through one of those "conduit" foundations. Even the chairs which the NSA officers sit on

NSA Still Receives Taxpayer Money

Having piously protested their aversion to CIA funds—after *Ramparts* had revealed that NSA had been on the payroll for 15 years—NSA officers are not only still on a CIA subsidy as columnist Chamberlain notes, but have recently managed to cadge over a quarter of a million dollars from other government agencies.

The left-wing organization, which continues to spread its peacenik dogma, has received a \$250,000 grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity, an \$80,000 grant from the U.S. Office of Education and even a \$60,000 grant from the State Department, whose policies NSA often fervently opposes. The tax-exempt Stern Family Fund recently provided it with another \$35,000.

Why, many Americans would like to know, should this left-wing group continue to be subsidized with federal money? If NSA is really as representative of students and jealous of its independence as it claims to be, shouldn't it refuse federal grants and welcome the opportunity to stand on its own two feet?

were CIA financed. How can they bear to rest their affronted posteriors on those chairs? If they are really as all-fired moral and ethical as they say they are, I look to see them substitute packing cases for their tainted office furniture.

There is an old saying that you should put your money where your mouth is. But our ethical young seem to be all mouth. If and when they give a nickel back to the federal treasury, that'll be the day. I'd be glad to accept some of the money personally for transmission to Washington.

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NEWSPAPER

Do any of the faces
on page 7
look familiar
to you?

They should.
You see them all the time.

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Human Events is published weekly by Human Events, Inc., 410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. One year subscription, \$12.50 (see coupon below).

U.S. national newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 W. 15th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011

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● Rep. Daniel Flood (D.-Pa.) says the Administration will try after July to sneak through the Senate treaties surrendering U.S. rights to the Panama Canal. Flood says a presidential appointee, "one of the key officials concerned with the treaty negotiations . . . has visited Capitol Hill, talked with a number of prominent senators and endeavored to persuade them to remain silent until after the treaties are submitted."

● Rep. Durward Hall (R.-Mo.) has wondered if it is ethical for CBS-TV to keep on Eric Sevareid as a commentator since Sevareid has revealed that he might become the Democratic candidate to oppose Sen. Milton Young (R.-N.D.) in 1968. Sevareid, noted Hall, is in a position to influence North Dakotans against Young's political positions and the networks aren't even required to give equal time. If CBS won't replace Sevareid, said Hall, at least they might add a disclaimer to the effect that the "views of this possible Democratic candidate for public office do not necessarily represent the views of CBS News"—"or do they?" Hall asks.

● In a speech bordering on sedition, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D.-N.Y.) last week told a group of Columbia University students that if he were of draft age he would not be willing to be a pilot and participate in the bombing of North Viet Nam.

● Captured Viet Cong documents reveal that the Communists feel religion is one of their deadly enemies in South Viet Nam. In some areas, noted the document, "the enemy succeeded in building five hamlets strictly controlled by religious people and we have not been able to infiltrate these hamlets. . . . The attitude of . . . religious people toward our cause has been cool and we have not been able to reach them."

● The release of that dove-like study on Viet Nam by the Senate Republican Policy Committee, chaired by Bourke Hickenlooper (R.-Iowa), is being referred to by some wags on the Hill as "Bourke's Hickenlooper."

● Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) has called upon the Office of Economic Opportunity to reject the request from a federally funded anti-poverty agency in Boone, N.C., to initiate a weekly newspaper and to produce a weekly radio program. The cost for the project would be \$179,000, and is believed to have been looked upon with favor by the OEO. Thurmond insists the grant should be rejected upon its face, since "no press financed by a government can be free."

● New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller continues to aid the Romney presidential drive. Only last week, Rocky freed his hand-picked state chairman, Carl Spad, to join the Romney team. Spad is not the first Rockefeller lieutenant to join the Michigan governor. Hugh Morrow, Rockefeller's chief speechwriter since 1960, was assigned to the Romney brain trust in February.

● The National Right-to-Work Committee has suggested one way to help relieve the railway crisis: restore the right-to-work provision to the Railway Labor Act. Under Taft-Hartley, notes the committee, excessive union power is "restrained to some extent" by the provision permitting states to outlaw compulsory unionism. Congress, however, voted to repeal the right-to-work clause in the Railway Labor Act in 1951—with LBJ, then a Texas senator, opposed to the action.



● The House Committee on Un-American Activities last week heard Leonard I. Epstein, a New Jersey businessman, relate how Vadim Isakov, an employee of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, approached him to try to procure various technological items for the Soviets. Among the items Isakov sought: an underwater robot which could be used for retrieving items from the ocean floor; accelerometers, which could be used to accomplish a soft landing on the moon by a space vehicle; miniature computers and flexible hoses used to fuel missiles prior to launch. Epstein, who exposed Isakov's activities, said the UNICEF employee apparently believed that American businessmen would be glad to sell to anyone to "make a buck."

● For the first time, the U.S. government is supporting the participation of American companies in a fair in Moscow for the purpose of expanding trade with the Soviet Union. Among the American companies taking part: Crown Cork and Seal of Philadelphia, Dow Chemical of Midland, Mich., Fairbanks Morse of Glenrock, N.J., and Scientific Data System of Santa Monica, Calif. Three soft drink companies, Coca-Cola, Pepsi-Cola and Royal Crown Cola, will also have exhibits.

● A California trade mission, which will include the Elliot Manufacturing Co. of Fresno, the West Coast Growers and Packers of Selma and the Blackwelder Manufacturing Co. of Rio Vista, will arrive in Moscow on May 15 to explore the potential for sales of farm machinery, food products and food processing equipment.

● The U.S. supports UNESCO and its director general, Rene Maheu, supports Cuba. According to the May 2, 1967, Worker, official organ of the Communist party, Maheu recently said in Havana that the "spirit of UNESCO, which is oriented toward the achievement of peace . . . and new possibilities for international co-operation," has "taken root here on Cuban soil." Maheu recently visited Havana for the purpose of evolving, with the cooperation of the Cuban Academy of Sciences, an international center for educational research.

● Despite the State Department's efforts to muffle the propaganda impact, Svetlana Stalin's defection has apparently caused considerable anger in the Soviet Union. What particularly galls the Reds is that her defection and denunciation of communism come during the same year Moscow is mounting a publicity campaign to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Soviet revolution.

● The Indianapolis Star reports that it recently received an invitation to attend the liberal "Geneva World Conference on World Peace Through Law." The registration blank lists the following fees: \$50 for persons from the United States, \$10 for "persons from all other countries and students." Noted the Star: "You can't beat having an international reputation as the last of the big spenders."

GOP Comes to Life

Although they have been slow to stir to life, House and Senate Republicans, along with some Southern Democrats, are now throwing some king-sized monkey wrenches into LBJ's legislative streamroller. In the Senate, for example, John Williams (R.-Del.) singlehandedly killed a pay proposal which would have given State Department employees in Viet Nam more money than Gen. William Westmoreland. Both Williams and Sen. Albert Gore (D.-Tenn.) also sparked the campaign to render inoperative—if not dead—the Administration-backed presidential campaign financing law which could have given LBJ a private slush fund of almost \$30 million to spend in the 1968 presidential race. (Both these measures are discussed on page 15.)



WILLIAMS

On May 3 the GOP-Dixie coalition in the House denied funds for the Administration's fledgling Teacher Corps, leaving that project gasping for its last breath. Meanwhile, a House appropriations subcommittee has been butchering three other "Great Society" projects, including rent subsidies, model cities (formerly demonstration cities) and urban renewal.

Slashing LBJ's request for rent subsidies from \$40 million to \$10 million, the subcommittee then hacked his \$412-million "asking price" for the demonstration cities program down to \$162 million. A special urban renewal budget of \$250 million for projects tied to the model cities program was cut to about \$60 million.

Not to be outdone, Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.) has also been wreaking havoc with LBJ's East-West "bridge-building" schemes. Two weeks ago Fino came within a hair of getting the Democratic-controlled Banking and Currency Committee to block the United States from helping the Soviet Union to build an automobile plant with high-quality American machine tools (see story below). Fears that the full House will approve Fino's resolution have Democratic strategists running scared.

A royal Republican-Democratic donneybrook, furthermore, is now shaping up in the House over federal aid to education.

An adroitly drawn school-aid measure introduced by Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) has an excellent chance of being substituted for the President's own federal aid to education program. House debate is to begin May 22.

Fundamentally, Quie's measure would substitute block grants to the states for the present maze of some 30-odd federal school aid programs. While Quie's bill is somewhat complex, school experts agree that it would slash red tape, give the states greater freedom in how they want to spend the federal aid received and make unnecessary thousands of federal bureaucrats who must now process aid applications from the states for a wide variety of programs.



QUIE

So afraid are the Democrats of its popularity that they have pulled out all stops to defeat the GOP bill. LBJ has even lent his personal prestige to the "anti-Quie" campaign. While the President has assaulted the Minnesotan's program as "reckless" and "obstructionist," education officials have been trying to fan a phony church-state issue by claiming parochial schools would be cut off without a cent. (Actually, Quie's bill would not hurt parochial schools in any way.)

Last week, moreover, in a brazen attempt to purchase votes from Dixie, the Administration removed the enforcement of the school desegregation guidelines from Education Commissioner Harold Howe, whose high-handed tactics have raised a furor in the South. Also, under Administration prompting, a House appropriations subcommittee is expected to report a bill curtailing the use of federal funds to achieve percentage school desegregation. The Associated Press in Atlanta last week reported that Georgia Gov. Lester Maddox had met secretly with

Vice President Hubert Humphrey and HEW Secretary John Gardner and had been assured that there would be changes made in the enforcement of desegregation guidelines.

Whether the Quie bill can pass remains to be seen, but HEW officials now concede that a vote could go either way. Pass or not, however, Capitol Hill observers agree that conservatives of both parties are once again showing some signs of vigor.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS

from

INSIDE WASHINGTON

Otepka: His Hearings Begin

After more than three years, a State Department hearing is scheduled to begin June 6 on the celebrated case of Otto Otepka. Otepka, the former chief of the Division of Evaluations in the department's Office of Security, was fired from his job (though kept on the payroll) for allegedly mutilating documents and handing unauthorized material to Senate investigators.



OTEPKA

At issue is not the man, but the integrity of the department and America's internal security. Given high ratings by his superiors throughout the years—including a commendation from the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles—Otepka ferreted out hundreds of security risks in government.

His troubles began during the Kennedy Administration after he had challenged the procedure of waiving security checks for hundreds of high-ranking State Department employees and had begun investigating William Wieland, a department desk officer who had a strong hand in shaping U.S. policy towards Cuba both before and after Castro. Wieland pleaded Castro's case before his superiors even though he had privately told friends as early as 1958 that Castro was a Red.

A full security check was made on Wieland in response to an allegation that he was a Communist. Otepka's initial conclusion did not support that charge, but Otepka did believe that Wieland was pro-Castro and had suppressed evidence relating to Castro's communism from reaching his superiors. Wieland, according to Otepka's findings, had also told a number of untruths before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS).

At about this time—early 1962—the department began to harass Otepka and on June 27, 1963, without warning, he was locked out of his office, denied access to his files and placed in isolation. In September he was fired. Subsequently, it was learned that sometime in March 1963 the department had "bugged" Otepka's telephone conversations.

Hearings on the Otepka firing before SISS revealed that three department officials admitted that they had not told the truth when they denied knowledge of the department's bugging operation.

One of those who had not told the truth was later elevated to a board that "cleared" Wieland of any wrongdoing. And Wieland, of

course, later wound up as ambassador to Australia.

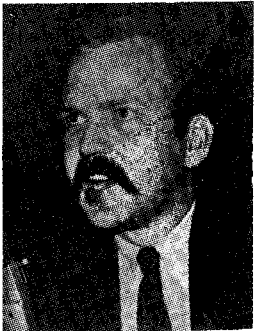
Last week the State Department announced a hearing would finally be held. The department also relayed information to Otepka that it was dropping 10 of 13 counts against him, though this has not yet been formalized. Most of these counts involved his alleged mutilation of documents which were found in Otepka's office. Otepka says he doesn't want these charges dropped because he feels a hearing would reveal that the mutilated documents had been planted on him and show who had framed him.

The remaining department counts against Otepka involve his furnishing unauthorized information to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Otepka contends the only unauthorized information he supplied was material disproving the testimony of others that made him out to be a liar.

One reason the department may have agreed to conduct hearings now, say insiders, is that one of Otepka's biggest boosters, Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.), acting head of SISS, has had his influence vastly diminished by the censure resolution hanging over his head. Whatever the result, the Otepka hearing is one which will be viewed with considerable interest on Capitol Hill.

SDS and Guerrilla Warfare

Phillip Abbott Luce, the ex-radical who left the pro-Chinese Progressive Labor party in January 1965, has turned into a prophet. In his book, *The New Left*, published last year, Luce detailed the penetration of Maoist, Castroite and Soviet Communist influence in the New Left. He warned that the movement was being captured by those schooled in violence. Though the liberals pooh-poohed Luce at the time, the threat he outlined is now being taken seriously.



LUCE

The New York Times, always slow to recognize extremism on the left, headlined a front-page story last week: "The New Left Turns to Mood of Violence in Place of Protest." Based on extensive interviews with New Left activists and their sympathizers, the Times found that some of them "sounded much more truculent than members of the Moscow-oriented Communist Party, U.S.A." The Times story revealed that:

- The national secretary of the left-wing Students for a Democratic Society, Gregory Calvert, has openly proclaimed: "We are working to build a guerrilla force in an urban environment. We are actively organizing sedition."

- (SDS, one of the largest left-wing groups, claims to have 200 chapters, 6,000 dues-paying members and at least 25,000 other supporters who participate in chapter activities.)

- Calvert, who frankly describes himself as a "post-Communist revolutionary," stated that Ernesto "Che" Guevara, whose ideas on guerrilla warfare were adopted by Castro, is the New Left's hero. "Che's message," said Calvert, "is applicable to urban America as far as the psychology of guerrilla action goes . . . Che sure lives in our hearts."

- Dee Jacobsen, assistant national secretary of SDS, told the Times reporter, "We are getting ready for the revolution." Whether he was joking was not clear from the Times report.

- Michael Myerson, a former leader of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, which have been cited as Communist controlled by the attorney general, is director of a newly formed group called the "Tri-Continental Information Center." The center, according to a recent announcement, has "established contacts with anti-imperialist organizations and movements throughout the world." Myerson's group is named after the 1966 Tricontinental Conference held in Havana at which Communists from more than 80 countries met to map plans to export revolution around the globe.

- The Radical Education Project, an offshoot of SDS, has called for creation of a network of "scholars, journalists, leftist youth leaders, government officials, guerrilla leaders, etc.," to gather intelligence on insurgent movements and foreign policy developments.

The Times reporter revealed that a number of New Leftists have been training with Castroite guerrillas

and that "insurgency in Nicaragua and in other Latin American countries is stirring news to the left-wing on United States campuses."

The advocacy of guerrilla warfare in the United States by the New Left has long worried experts on subversion who believe that some of the big-city riots have been plotted by America's own "Che Guevaras." As implausible as it may seem to many right now, these experts seriously wonder if the United States may some day be at the mercy of a home-grown Red Guard movement.

In 1964, leftist ideologue William Worthy wrote an eye-opening article for *Esquire* magazine in which he stated that revolutionary groups in the United States—groups whose chief heroes were Castro and Mao—were preparing to carry out guerrilla warfare in this country. In 1964, however, the revolutionaries didn't boast of their plots in public. In 1967 it seems to be a different story.

Dirksen's Warning

In the Capitol they're still talking about Sen. Everett Dirksen's tough verbal assault on galloping federalism last week. Apparently completely recovered from a bout with pneumonia, the GOP Senate leader zeroed in on the Supreme Court and the Administration's determination to foist the iron fist of the federal government down the people's throats.



DIRKSEN

A major target of the Illinois lawmaker was the court's 1964 decision to force states to apportion both houses of the legislature on a one-man, one-vote basis. What the court said in effect, Dirksen declared, "was that the people of a state had no power to determine the composition of one branch of its legislature. . . . What it said was that despite the 10th Amendment to the Constitution which reserves to the states all powers not delegated to the United States or denied to the states, the people of those same states had no power over their own lawmaking bodies."

Meanwhile, he contended, "fainthearted, fearful individuals with small faith in the people" have been urging the states to rescind their call for a constitutional convention to overturn the one-man, one-vote decision. "Thus far," he noted, "no state has rescinded" and if just two more states act, Congress will be obliged to call a convention.

The time is at hand, Dirksen said, "to summon the power of the people to protect and preserve the principle that this is still a government of, for and by the people."

"The undisputed fact is that federalism is on the march. The steady growth of centralized power in Washington, far removed from the people, will jeopardize their freedom. By means of grants-in-aid and other devices, states have been steadily lured for the sake of these handouts to agree to the tags, conditions, qualifications and requirements which the federal government attaches to the funds made available to the states. In this wise, states are compelled to impose additional burdens of taxes on their people to take advantage of this allegedly free money."

"The lure is great, the danger is even greater, and the ultimate end is a centralized, all-powerful, leviathan federal government, clothed with power to convert citizens into subjects, and gradually shear away the freedoms they once knew."

What gives added importance to this issue, said Dirksen, is a study put out by the left-wing Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. (Though Dirksen didn't say so, the organization's "studies" frequently are forerunners of Administration proposals.) Recently, lamented Dirksen, one of the center's studies stated:

"The complexity of social structures will make some form of regimentation unavoidable. . . . Freedom and privacy may come to constitute anti-social luxuries. In consequence, the type of human beings more likely to prosper will be those willing to accept a regimented and sheltered way of life. . . ."

Dirksen warned that we had "better gather the full impact of these suggestions. Unavoid-

able regimentation. That is to say, just be a contented cow in a sterile barn, born to eat, produce milk, and wind up in a butcher shop. . . . Freedom and privacy may come to constitute anti-social luxuries. . . ."

Maybe there is no retreat from galloping socialism, said Dirksen, but it is "worth a try to stem the disaster and retrieve what we have already lost."

"Whether that centralization comes through the hand of the U.S. Supreme Court or the creative federalism of the executive branch, that is the danger that confronts America today."

The Schlafly-O'Donnell Scrap

The embattled 500,000-member National Federation of Republican Women elected the less conservative Gladys O'Donnell over Phyllis Schlafly as its new president on May 6, but the bitter feud dividing the O'Donnell and Schlafly forces continues.

The margin of victory of Mrs. O'Donnell, a 63-year-old widow from Long Beach, Calif., who was the choice of the NFRW's official nominating committee, was 416 votes—1,910 to 1,494. But Mrs. Schlafly, the Alton, Ill., mother of six, whose *A Choice, Not an Echo* helped Barry Goldwater secure the 1964 GOP nomination, has cried "foul."

The Schlafly forces have dispatched a detailed list of charges to Republican National Chairman Ray Bliss protesting "the gross illegalities and irregularities which characterized both the convention proceedings and the election." Claiming the Women's Federation is independent of the National Committee, Bliss has refused to investigate the charges, and Mrs. Dorothy Elston, the outgoing president who was in Mrs. O'Donnell's corner during the contest and chaired the convention, says she will not reply.

Among the unanswered charges formally filed by four Schlafly supporters: The committee "wrongfully seated about 800 O'Donnell delegates from New York and Pennsylvania who should have been disqualified for the very fundamental reason of not paying their full dues"; one hundred pro-Schlafly delegates were not seated for "invalid" or doubtfully valid reasons; "Microphones were usually turned off in the area of the pro-Schlafly states"; etc.

Rep. John Ashbrook (R-Ohio) said he had "a firsthand opportunity to observe the conduct" of the biennial convention and charged the O'Donnell election was "railroaded." Other on-the-spot viewers disagreed.

Many objective observers of the pre-convention battle believed that both the O'Donnell and Schlafly forces conducted less than lady-like campaigns.

Some Schlafly supporters had charged, erroneously, that Mrs. O'Donnell was a raging liberal. But the Californian's support for Taft in the 1952 GOP convention—a fact verified by Sen. George Murphy who, with Mrs. O'Donnell, was a delegate to the affair—and her coaxing Ronald Reagan to run for governor as early as 1965 disproved that contention.

The O'Donnell forces, however, were not above a sneaky punch or two and had even sent out a cropped version of a letter by Barry Goldwater—who was a neutral in the campaign—making it look as if he supported O'Donnell.

But the charges of "fix" fall into a more serious category. The O'Donnell forces and some of the top leadership in the Women's Federation have all along claimed that Mrs. O'Donnell would be the best person to unify the party. If she has been manipulated into the presidency, however, this would hardly prove the



SCHLAFLY



O'DONNELL

truth of the contention.

Unless Mrs. Elston, Ray Bliss or the Women's Federation can rebut the detailed accusations of the

Schlafly forces, a sharp division in the club will undoubtedly remain. In fact, the possibility of even a new federation being formed is already being discussed by many disgruntled Schlafly supporters.

Scrub Fiat!

House Republicans are lining up behind Rep. Paul Fino's crusade to prevent the Johnson Administration from channeling taxpayer dollars to the Soviet Union so it can acquire a Fiat automobile plant stocked with high-quality American machine tools. The Administration has authorized the Export-Import Bank to subsidize the project, but the New York Republican plans to introduce an amendment to kill U.S. participation in the Fiat program when the measure to extend the life of the bank comes to the floor for a vote.



LIPSCOMB

Strongly backing Fino's bid to stop U.S. aid to the Kremlin is Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-Calif.), the resident House expert on Red trade. Last week Lipscomb, after thoroughly researching the entire Fiat deal, shredded to pieces the arguments advanced by its proponents. In rebutting the Administration, Lipscomb pointed out:

(1) The Fiat plant would increase the Soviet's capability to deliver vehicles used for military purposes to North Viet Nam. Trucks and other automotive products, he stressed, are among the significant war goods supplied to Hanoi by the Soviets and the Eastern Europeans, and the Soviets sell their auto goods to the latter. "Such vehicles," Lipscomb noted, "help to convey and transport Communist forces, ammunition and weapons, and other war goods in Southeast Asia."

(2) To American soldiers, vehicles are enemy equipment. In two years, according to testimony presented to the Defense Appropriations hearings, we have destroyed or damaged over 9,000 trucks in North Viet Nam. Thousands more remain. "The threat posed by Soviet and Eastern European-built vehicles and other equipment must be measured in terms of American lives lost as well as the millions upon millions of dollars expended."

(3) While the State Department has long been spreading the myth that the cars produced by the Soviets will be a boon to the average Russian citizen, a CIA report on the Fiat program flatly states: "Essentially, the new Soviet program is designed to produce automobiles for the bureaucratic and managerial elite, not for the average citizen." The CIA also estimates that 23 per cent of all Soviet passenger automobiles in 1967 will be exported. Thus, said Lipscomb, the average Russian is denied an automobile only because the Soviet leaders won't permit him to have one—not because of any action the U.S. Congress might take.

(4) The State Department contends that the Fiat plant would induce the Soviets to divert resources from a military program to one benefiting the Soviet consumer, but the evidence suggests this isn't the case at all. The CIA says the Soviet scheme for building autos will "leave military and space programs unimpaired." In a special letter to Lipscomb, Gen. Earle Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, states he does "not believe that the Soviets would divert resources from a military program which they regard as vital to any program to benefit the Soviet consumer."

Lipscomb says we are being asked to ship high-quality machine tools to the Soviets, but that *The Machine and Tool Blue Book* for January 1967 declares: "Every item used, worn or eaten by the military is directly or indirectly an end result of machine tools."

For these many reasons Lipscomb feels it is inconceivable "that it could be seriously proposed that the United States at this time should assist in any way in building up the automotive industry in the Soviet Union."

Does your congressman agree?

Civil Rights Strategy: Split Bill Into 3 Parts; Havana-Miami Airlift Brings In Many Subversives

From the Allen-Scott Report

The Senate is now slated to be the first battleground on the Administration's slumbering new civil rights bill.

The decision to try to get some action on this intensely controversial legislation in the Senate first rather than the House was reached by Democratic congressional leaders at a series of White House meetings. The reason was the still-unsolved dispute over the seating of Adam Clayton Powell.

The House leaders felt that until this emotion-steeped question is out of the way, it would be unwise to raise the civil rights problem. They strongly advised that the Senate take up the legislation first in the hope that action of some kind would be possible this year.

To further that prospect, the Democratic leaders agreed to split up the Administration's civil rights bill into three proposals and to press them separately.

President Johnson has been apprised of this backstage strategy and is going along with it. He has no alternative, whether he likes it or not. The lawmakers left him no choice.

In line with this plan, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.), chairman of the Judiciary Committee, has cancelled plans for hearings on civil rights. Instead, the committee will consider anti-crime legislation, including curbing the sale of guns.

In the Senate the Democratic leadership contemplates civil rights hearings this month and next by three different committees, as follows:

- Judiciary, headed by James Eastland (D.-Miss.): Starting around May 23, on provisions of the Administration's bill to eliminate discrimination in the selection of state court juries, and to extend the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights for five more years.

- Banking and Currency, headed by John Sparkman (D.-Ala.): In late May or early June, on an "open housing" proposal to bar discrimination in the sale and renting of homes and apartments.

- Labor and Public Welfare, headed by Lister Hill (D.-Ala.): In early June, on strengthening the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission by giving it power to issue cease and desist orders.

By splitting the Administration's bill into three measures to be considered by separate committees, Senate Democratic leaders are saying they believe there is a 50-50 chance to get one or more of them favorably reported to the full Senate by July. They frankly admit that's largely a hope, but the best they can expect.

Also, if and when one of these bills should get to the Senate, they have no idea at present what the prospects would be to get it considered. Last year a filibuster, led by Republican leader Everett Dirksen, blocked a Senate vote on the far-reaching "open housing" measure that had been passed by the House.

During the White House conference Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield bluntly stated there is virtually no chance of "open housing" legislation getting anywhere this session.

Mansfield pointed out that Sen. Dirksen is still as strongly opposed to it as last year, and as long as he holds that

position, it would be impossible to muster enough support to overcome a filibuster.

Speaker John McCormack echoed Mansfield's views. McCormack told President Johnson that while the House approved a watered-down "open housing" provision last year, that would not be possible in this Congress.

Fidel Castro is making the most of the refugee airlift to try to infiltrate hundreds of subversive agents into the United States.

Since the program was launched in December 1965, the U.S. Immigration Service, assisted by other agencies, has detected and barred 660 "known subversives" seeking to enter from Cuba.

That means that one out of every hundred of the 63,000 refugees cleared by Havana for the Miami airlift were Castro agents. So far there have been 700 of these flights at the rate of two a day.

Despite the intense screening of the daily flow of refugees, U.S. authorities privately concede some agents undoubtedly have slipped through. They have no idea of the number, but say it could be as many as 100.

Information on more than 50 Cuban subversives, including a suspected leader, now suspected of being in the United States, has been turned over to the FBI.

In testimony before a House Appropriations subcommittee Director J. Edgar Hoover revealed that a number of refugees had informed the FBI that Castro agents tried to recruit them to gather intelligence.

While stressing that the overwhelming majority of refugees are loyal to the United States and came here to escape Communist rule, Hoover declared, "I think we would be very naive if we didn't assume that among them would be some Castro agents."

In recent months, Hoover further disclosed, Castro has increased his "diplomatic personnel" at the United Nations and at embassies in Canada, Mexico and Spain.

In addition to the 600 subversives, immigration authorities have barred or deported several hundred others identified as narcotics agents or individuals with moral and criminal records.

Immigration authorities also are investigating a Castro smuggling ring operating between Havana, Prague, Madrid and the U.S. Some teen-age Cuban saboteurs reputedly have gained entry into the U.S. through the gang. Other Castro operatives are believed to have come from Canada.

Among the thousands of anti-Castro refugees, a recent entry was Omelia Agramonte, one-time Cuban heavyweight boxing champion. At his peak, he fought heavyweight champions Joe Louis and Joe Walcott.

Through his son, an American citizen, Agramonte was able to come to the United States via Mexico. Agramonte has told members of the House Judiciary Committee that he is eager to testify regarding the bitter disillusionment of Cuban Negroes with the Castro regime.

A State Department survey shows there are still some 650 Americans and around 2,500 dependents who want to

leave but have been unable to get Castro's permission. In addition, an estimated 60 U.S. citizens are being held as "political prisoners." All efforts to gain their freedom have been ignored by Castro.

Department of Health, Education and Welfare officials, who are handling the Cuban refugee resettlement program, estimate that more than one million Cubans would like to come to this country. So far, the U.S. has given clearance to 150,000 to come here, but Castro authorities are granting visas only on a day-to-day basis.

One of the unreported sensations of Gen. Westmoreland's dramatic visit to Washington was his disclosure to congressional leaders that he strongly favors mining Haiphong harbor.

The U.S. commander in Viet Nam made this known after Defense Secretary McNamara had ordered him not to include any reference to this view in his speech to the joint session of Congress.

In Westmoreland's private discussion with the lawmakers, he frankly stated that McNamara had ruled out public mention of the Haiphong issue on the ground it was still unresolved by the President, and therefore should not be referred to until a decision had been reached.

There was no indication that Westmoreland was challenging McNamara's authority to impose this gag. But the Viet Nam commander did not hesitate to let the congressional leaders know he strongly advocates mining Haiphong harbor as an urgently needed measure to cut the flow of Communist arms and other supplies.

From Westmoreland, the congressional leaders also learned that the line-up on the Haiphong issue in inner Administration quarters is drawn tightly between the Joint Chiefs of Staff and McNamara. The military leaders are strongly urging the President to authorize mining North Viet Nam's main harbor. McNamara is opposing it on the contention that the military advantages are greatly outweighed by the menace of a direct confrontation with Russia.

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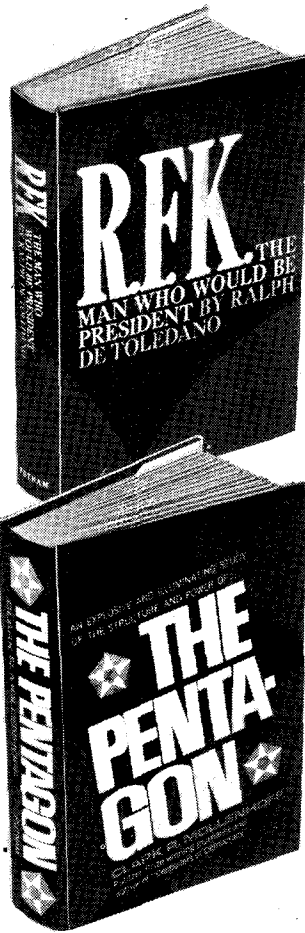
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"HORROR ROOM"—"A house blueprint shows an area on the second floor designated as a 'horror room.' The lady of the house explains that she uses the room for doing messy chores, such as wrapping packages, without having to clean up promptly. And where conservatives, we suppose, might read Walter Lippmann."—From the *Richmond News Leader*

□ □ □

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Suffer Little Children

Anti-Poverty Funds Are Financing Public School Boycotts

By SHIRLEY SCHEIBLA

Reprinted with permission from Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly, May 8, 1967

Washington:— On May Day this demonstration-plagued city endured its first school boycott. An estimated 400 students met on the grounds of the Washington National Monument to hear such volunteer teachers as James Bevel, who led the recent anti-Viet Nam war demonstration in New York. While the boycott boosted normal absenteeism by only 1,000 pupils, and could hardly be called a triumph of militance, it had some noteworthy aspects.

The action was planned as a protest against the recent reappointment of Dr. Carl F. Hansen, who has earned national acclaim as an educator, as superintendent of schools of the District of Columbia. Opposition to him springs from his stubborn refusal to meet the demands of anti-poverty, leftist and "civil rights" groups, which are seeking to carry out the "War on Poverty's" heady promise of "maximum feasible participation." To them, this means having parents ultimately set school policy.

Meantime, they want a superintendent who will abolish grades, hire non-teachers to teach, present history and social studies with what they regard as the proper slant, and bus Negro children to suburban schools. The anti-poverty forces argue that such measures would improve the lot of the impoverished Negro children who make up most of the D.C. school population. Dr. Hansen calls this a formula for chaos.

The boycott has been tardy in reaching Washington. Chicago, Rochester and New York City had school boycotts much earlier, the aims of which—control of the public schools—have been remarkably similar. In each case, moreover, leftists and anti-poverty workers have fostered the organized unrest.

Far from disclaiming any connection with the turmoil, anti-poverty workers are proud of their roles. For example, Melvin Moore, assistant director of the Near Northeast Neighborhood Development Program here (which receives federal anti-poverty funds), told *Barron's*, "It might be necessary to do away with the schools and start all over again."

Preston Wilcox, a New York school boycott leader and paid consultant to the Office of Economic Opportunity in

Washington, told *Barron's* "What we need is more violence to accomplish our aims." Melvin Moguloff, OEO regional director in San Francisco, told a Howard University audience here: "We must support the following functions . . . educating clients to understand that they are a valuable resource to agencies—that if they do not choose to play the role of client, the producing system will collapse. This is exactly the gambit used in the school boycotts. Schools, after all, need pupils."

Head Start Controversy

What is happening in Washington points up an increasingly worrisome problem for educators and the general public. Dr. Hansen incurred the wrath of anti-poverty workers when the D.C. school system was given responsibility for D.C. Head Start, a program to prepare impoverished children for entering elementary school. Funds were to come from the United Planning Organization, the local anti-poverty agency funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The D.C. school system would not be paid until UPO approved its final report.

Dr. Hansen objected to the arrangement and refused to sign such a contract. The superintendent also balked at accepting responsibility without authority. He told the D.C. Board of Education that UPO had saddled Head Start with conditions under which the school system could not run the program.

Subsequently, it became clear that UPO merely was following orders from OEO, first circulated by word-of-mouth and then put in writing in an official memorandum, issued Nov. 7, 1966.

Signed by Lawrence E. Williams, acting director of OEO's Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, it said that each agency delegated to run a Head Start program must have policy set by a committee composed 50 per cent of the parents of the children enrolled; "the remaining half of the committee should be drawn from (a) parents and community members of previous policy advisory committees; (b) representatives of public and private associations and organizations; (c) interested members of the commu-

nity-at-large." This policy committee, the memo explained, must approve the selection of a Head Start director and all of the non-professional staff.

Dr. Hansen won several points in connection with Head Start. Along with school superintendents from nearby Montgomery, Prince George's and Charles Counties in Maryland, Arlington and Fairfax Counties in Virginia, and the cities of Alexandria and Falls Church in Virginia, he wrote to Sargent Shriver and complained that the unprecedented authority for the policy committee would violate laws which give school boards authority to hire and fire.

This move led Mr. Williams to write another memorandum in which he said that a school board should not be placed in the position of hiring a key executive in whom it or the committee does not have confidence. He said the choice must be made only after "an effective process of consultation between a school board and a committee." He failed to say what would happen in case of a deadlock between the board and the committee over the choice of a director.

Dr. Hansen also won the right to pay Head Start teachers salaries commensurate with, not higher than, those of other teachers. Even so, the D.C. school system was swamped with requests for Head Start appointments on a political basis.

Foreseeing that Head Start could become a new political patronage base, Dr. Hansen lashed out publicly at "power grabbers and politicians" trying to use anti-poverty money for such a purpose.

The redoubtable superintendent also balked at placing the so-called Model School Division under the control of the policy committee set up to run Head Start. This was the name given to innovative educational processes tried at 24 D.C. schools, including new kinds of reading programs, tutoring services, extension of the school day, teaching on Saturdays, volunteer services of college and university students and a parent education project. All told, the Model School Division accounted for about 5 per cent of the total costs of the 24 schools, and was paid for by UPO.

Dr. Hansen insisted that an investment of 5 per cent should not give UPO control over 95 per cent of the budget. Moreover, he argued that he could not ask Congress for money to run these schools unless the school system controlled their budgets.

Subsequently, an OEO educational consultant advised the UPO that it was a bad idea to split up the funding for the Division among many schools. On April 14, 1967, UPO not only took the hint, but went even farther; its board of trustees voted 10 to 8 against funding the Division at all. Instead, it voted to spend \$242,000 previously contemplated for the Division for "education action teams" to organize D.C. residents to press for changes in the schools; i.e., more money for activities upon which the UPO had already embarked.

On June 4, 1966, UPO sponsored jointly with the Washington Urban League a Community Action Assembly in this city, at which James Farmer, former director of the Congress of Racial Equality, was the keynote speaker. The League receives anti-poverty funds from UPO; its associate director is David Rusk, son of the secretary of state. At

an Urban League meeting in Philadelphia last summer, the young Mr. Rusk stated:

"How much do you have to show your 'black bourgeoisie' board member before he decides that it's about time to shelve this old, comfortable image of the Urban League, which didn't picket, boycott or organize strikes? . . . How much does the white businessman have to see before realizing that the Urban League should no longer be a moderating and reasonable influence?"

Among the 450 people who attended that jointly sponsored assembly were representatives of virtually all of Washington's many federally funded anti-poverty agencies. The assembly established the Committee for Community Action in Public Education (CCAPE), and named the aforementioned Melvin Moore as its chairman. Mr. Moore was then, and still is, assistant director of the Near Northeast Neighborhood Development Program, funded by UPO.

Embracing the aims of the anti-poverty workers, the CCAPE decided that the best means of achieving them would be to abolish the appointed D.C. Board of Education and elect another within six months. If that proved impossible, it would set up a shadow board to publicize the will of anti-poverty forces. When this proved more easily said than done, CCAPE decided to concentrate on getting rid of Superintendent Hansen.

Meantime, the UPO ruled that since Mr. Moore was employed in the anti-poverty program, he should not head CCAPE. He then stepped down to vice chairman, while the Rev. Channing E. Phillips, pastor of Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, took over as chairman. Rev. Phillips gave up his job as co-chairman of the D.C. Coalition of Conscience, in which capacity he took part in a sleep-in at the Anacostia-Bolling military complex in Southeast Washington. Under Rev. Phillips, the Coalition of Conscience also sponsored a boycott of Washington merchants.

Superintendent Attacked

Rev. Phillips wound up getting anti-poverty funds after all, however. Besides his CCAPE post, he is chairman of the Housing Development Corp., set up to house the impoverished. Last February OEO gave HDC \$294,294 for administrative expenses, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development promised an additional \$100,000.

HDC's proposal to OEO indicates it wants to make use of rent supplements to locate poor people in middle-class housing. It adds: "Welfare recipients, persons with criminal records, alcoholics and men and women living together out of wedlock will be welcomed."

Despite his far-flung activities, Rev. Phillips has found time to lobby against Dr. Hansen at the Board of Education. Wearing his CCAPE hat, he went to the board last November to contend that Dr. Hansen is "incapable of implementing and administering decisions of the board which may be inconsistent with his own thinking." Other anti-poverty workers followed this up by picketing Dr. Hansen at his office on February 15 with signs saying: "Hansen must go."

Continued on next page



Only a few hundred students heeded the D.C. school boycott May 1, but efforts to undermine the school system continue, helped in part by the "War on Poverty."

Earlier, UPO's community action centers set out to destroy the parents' confidence in the schools. Melvin Moore led a group of parents in picketing Crummell School to protest its condition.

A poster distributed last November by UPO's Urban League Neighborhood Development Center asked, "How concerned are the members of the Board of Education about the conditions of the schools your children attend? Are you aware of these facts?" Then it stated, "Perry School is condemned and might fall on your child any minute. Seaton School has a defective boiler and might blow up any minute."

Dr. Hansen ordered an immediate inspection of the Seaton School boiler, which revealed nothing wrong. He also called for a structural investigation of the Perry School; subsequently J. A. Blaser, director of Buildings and Grounds, issued a report which concluded that the school is "structurally safe, sound and solid."

The Board of Education met on March 15 to vote on the reappointment of Dr. Hansen. It voted 5 to 4 to reappoint him for a three-year term when his contract expires May 15. His victory, however, was not clear-cut. Out of the five members who voted for him, the terms of three expire in June. It then will be up to federal judges either to reappoint them or name successors. Without a majority on the board, Dr. Hansen could be helpless.

Nevertheless, the reaction to the vote was explosive. Julius Hobson immediately called for a school boycott on May 1. He is an employee of the Social Security Administration here and also heads the Washington office of ACT, a civil rights group. He has accused Dr. Hansen of having "consigned the poor and the black children of this community . . . to the economic and social junk heap."

Mr. Hobson has an interesting background. In the early '60s, he was chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Currently he has two court cases pending against the D.C. school system. In one he charged that appointment of the Board of Education by judges is unconstitutional. The D.C. Court of Appeals ruled against Mr. Hobson, who says he will appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. In the other, he asked the court to give control of the D.C. public schools to the U.S. commissioner of education until racial imbalance in the schools is changed. This case is pending.

The Washington *Evening Star* recently quoted Mr. Hobson as follows: "You can't make Socialist promises within the capitalist system. It won't work. I'm a Marxist Socialist, not a Communist, but I don't have any illusions that I can change the system, although I think I can improve it."

In March Mr. Hobson announced that supporters of the boycott include Ralph D. Fertig, executive director of UPO's Southeast Neighborhood House; Patricia Saltonstall, paid director of Volunteer Services for UPO; Mrs. Willie Hardy, former director of UPO's University Neighborhood Council; CORE and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

What is happening here is only a variation on a theme which began to develop first in New York City with Mobilization for Youth, a federally funded group which served as inspiration and pilot project for the community action phase of the "War on Poverty."

A December 1964 report of the New York (State) Senate Committee on Affairs of the City of New York found that MFY employees aided community organizations which conducted the school boycott of that year and even made MFY facilities and equipment available to them.

Rev. Milton A. Galamison was the leader of the school boycott then, as well as of those which have recurred in New York each year. A friend of Rev. Phillips of Washington, he shares his beliefs and aims regarding public schools. Like Rev. Phillips, Rev. Galamison is involved in the "War on Poverty," as a member of New York City's Poverty Board, a policy-making group established by Mayor John V. Lindsay.

Control of Schools Sought

Preston Wilcox is another boycott leader in New York. During the student pull-out earlier this spring, he was in charge of the so-called Liberation Schools, set up to avoid running afoul of truancy laws. (Rev. Galamison was jailed in 1965 for doing so.) Recently, Lloyd K. Garrison, president of New York's Board of Education, announced that the program he was discussing with Harlem groups was based on proposals written by Mr. Wilcox.

The latter is assistant professor at the School of Social Work at Columbia University. The school has received \$300,000 from OEO to train workers for Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) and an additional \$93,000 to evaluate the effectiveness of the workers it has trained. A poster on the wall of his office at Columbia proclaims "Black Power." He says, "I just wish we had more Stokely Carmichaels."

The aims of the boycotters, as he outlined them to *Barron's*, are essentially the same in New York as in Washington — control of the public schools.

Asked if he thought parents were technically qualified to decide on school curricula and employment of teachers and principals, he replied that in a democracy, Negro parents should have the same opportunity to make mistakes as anybody else. He added that if given a choice between a Negro principal and a white one with much higher qualifications, he would choose the Negro without hesitation.

As noted, Mr. Wilcox is on the anti-poverty payroll. He is a paid consultant to OEO for the Upward Bound program, which is supposed to help impoverished high school students prepare for college. He also is a consultant to the Community Association of the East Harlem Triangle, Inc., (CAEHT), which receives federal anti-poverty funds. In addition, he says he is "the author of two funded anti-poverty proposals, Massive Economic Neighborhood Development (MEND) and the United Block Association (UBA)." Both receive OEO money. So do the Manhattanville Community Centers, where volunteers conducted the "Liberation Schools." Moreover, school boycotters met in a UBA building.

A quick glance at others involved in the New York boycotts turns up one anti-poverty worker after another. Alice Kornagay, one of the leaders of the student strike at Public School 201, works for CAEHT. Babette Edwards, another boycott leader, is a paid worker for MEND. Helen Testamark, also a leader, is employed as a teacher aide under a program financed with federal anti-poverty funds.

Asked if he is concerned about the role of anti-poverty workers in the boycotts, Mitchell Sviridoff, New York's Human Resources administrator, replied, "The top leaders are not anti-poverty people." He added that many of those in the ranks of boycotters may be community organizers under the federal anti-poverty program.

Several New York public school officials are unable to emulate Mr. Sviridoff's cool or conceal their concern over the activities of anti-poverty workers. Says one official who has been intimately involved, "I am sure that the boycotts never would have occurred without the 'War on Poverty.'"

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The Story of the Conservative Book Club

By ANNE EDWARDS

Just about everyone in New York publishing circles a few years ago had the same opinion: conservative books didn't sell. There was no market for them and any publisher who did take a chance on a conservative or staunchly anti-Communist book was almost certain to lose his shirt. That was the consensus—with one important exception, a publishing executive named Neil McCaffrey.

Neil had a dream. He wanted to start a conservative publishing house which would provide its authors with a full range of advertising and promotion services. He also had an idea about a conservative book club.

Through his work at Doubleday, where he had been in charge of several book clubs, and at Macmillan, for which he was director of mail order advertising, he felt sure there was a market for good books on the Right. He could almost taste it.

But his sixth sense wasn't the only thing that told him there was a large conservative audience. He had tested the club idea some years before and the results had been positive. However, the conservatives he spoke to about the book club were too involved with other projects to give it much thought. Nor were they sure conservatism was big enough to sustain such an enterprise.

I had been working for Neil McCaffrey since 1961. As his secretary and gal Friday, I shared his dreams and his disappointments. He had a wonderful idea in the book club. All he needed was the right person to help him shape it into the kind of solid business proposition investors understood.

One day I introduced him to Stanley Goldstein, a brilliant young CPA and a sturdy convert to conservatism. Stan became very excited about Neil's project and helped put together an impressive prospectus. Armed with figures to make his plan plausible, Neil went hunting for capital. Before too long, two businessmen stepped forward and the dream soon became a reality.

The official birthday of the Conservative Book Club was April 1, 1964. Four people heard their footsteps echo through the rooms of a barn-like office in New Rochelle, N.Y. Why New Rochelle? It could have been any one of a half-dozen little Westchester County towns which lie just outside New York City, but New Rochelle was chosen because the principals found office space which was large enough to suit their immediate needs at a price they could afford to pay. The overhead in New York City would have been two or three times as high. Still, New Rochelle is convenient enough to the city to allow business luncheons in town or guest authors and publishers to travel out from the city without too much bother.

One of the first problems Neil had to deal with was that the name "Neil McCaffrey" would not be familiar to the thousands of conservatives he hoped to reach. Since conservatives want to know who is behind an organization before they join, it was clear that the club needed a list of well-known conservative sponsors. People like Sen. Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr., the late James L. Wick of *Human Events*, Sen. John Tower, Rep. John Ashbrook, Gen. Mark Clark—these men had faith in Neil, liked the concept of the Conservative Book Club and graciously agreed to lend their names to the venture.

The results of a test mailing, conducted before the actual opening of the club, were interesting. Neil prepared three mailing packages designed to test certain variables and sent them to three sets of names, equal in number and derived from the same or similar sources. One mailing tested the name American Reading Society, the second the Conservative Book Club and the third the offer of a free book premium under the Conservative Book Club name.

First, he wanted to find out whether the word "conservative" helped or hurt the prospective book club. Second, he wanted to know whether the offer of a free book upon joining would make any significant difference in soliciting members.

Results showed that Conservative Book Club outpulled American Reading Society by 3 to 2 and that conservatives didn't need the lure of a free book to know a good thing when they saw it. (A good thing for us, too, because the club was on a tight budget.)

One of the first tasks was obtaining lists of conservatives so that news of the club's formation could be passed along to them without delay. Some lists came from conservative organizations, many were purchased or rented from professional list brokers and others came from enthusiastic individuals who, hearing about CBC, sent lists of friends' addresses—sometimes including 50 or more names. The people who sent these free lists helped the struggling club more than they will ever know.

Mailings went out proclaiming the glad news and ads were run in various conservative publications. With steady work, the club's membership was raised to over 30,000 during the first year and a half. Today, CBC is responsible for the sale of some 15-20,000 conservative books a month.

As quickly as people joined and ordered books, the value of one of the original four employees became more and more evident. Marvin Nagourney, who had served as ful-

fillment man for the club. He received their B steady routine through the club to the new club.

Marv's departure from list making from membership is that answered, and Marv is a very CBC recognition accomplishment vice president.

Publisher's trade journal closely for a of books which They then r books from th a manuscript book is actual

Many publ sider CBC a send unsolici cases, in fact, script to the c to publish. C might contrib lisher's decis question. In themselves r attention.

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An Interview with Neil McCaffrey

Q. Are conservatives indifferent to works of fiction?

A. Conservatives are less interested in fiction than in non-fiction, but in this respect I don't think they differ greatly from the larger book-buying public. The public sees bestseller lists, one for fiction and one for non-fiction. What the public doesn't realize is that, in almost every case, the non-fiction is outselling the fiction by a wide margin. This wasn't always true, but it has been broadly true for the last 15 years or so, and the gap keeps widening.

Why should this be? Among conservatives as among book readers at large, it is partly the dearth of good novelists. I think it is also partly a problem of guilt feelings: some people think they are wasting their time reading fiction. They should realize that good fiction is not a waste of time but a way of broadening our horizons, deepening our perceptions, stirring our imaginations. And besides, people need recreation and relaxation.

Mrs. Edwards is co-author with her husband, Lee, of a book on practical politics, *You Can Make the Difference*, which will be published early next year.

Q. What has been the most popular CBC book?

A. *Reminiscences* by Gen. Douglas MacArthur and *The Liberal Establishment* by M. Stanton Evans.

Q. Who has been the most popular author?

A. We have done two club surveys of our membership. Bill Buckley has been named the most popular author in both surveys, by a wide margin.

Q. What is the age make-up of CBC members?

A. According to our last survey that asked this question, the average age of a member is 39.

Q. How many members do you have? How many do you think you will have in one year? Two years?

A. We are hovering around 31,000 members. I don't foresee any dramatic change in the next year or two.

Q. Do you believe conservatism is waxing, or waning?

A. I think we are at least holding our own. Among the intellectuals we are making some progress, though it is a question whether the Left isn't making more progress. Among plain citizens, there is a deep reservoir of conservative sentiment—which, however, hasn't yet crystallized. The Goldwater movement was a good beginning, but I wish it had been sustained more aggressively. As it is, the Reagan campaign shows that conservatism can be presented attractively. And not just among Republicans.

Q. Name the 10 best conservative books of the last 10 years.

A. In no particular order: *Suicide of the West* and *Congress and the American Tradition* by James Burnham; *The Moulding of Communists* by Frank S.

Meyer; *The Warren Revolution* by L. Brent Bozell; *The Unmaking of a Mayor* and *Rumbles Left and Right* by William F. Buckley Jr.; *The End of the Battle* by Evelyn Waugh; *Politics and Catholic Freedom* by Garry Wills; *When the Kissing Had to Stop* by Constantine Fitzgibbon; and, of course, *The Conscience of a Conservative* by Barry Goldwater.

Q. Do you see any maximum number of members of CBC?

A. I couldn't predict. It all depends upon the health of the conservative movement. As conservatism goes, so goes the Conservative Book Club.

Q. Is anti-communism still the most popular general subject for conservatives?

A. I don't think so. American conservatives are more concerned with domestic politics and the problem of liberalism. They hit closer to home.

Q. What are some of the editorial problems you face?

for the Crowell-Collier fulfillment operations result, CBC members receive books as part of a signed and implemented plan Nagourney brought.

ent handles everything once to answering mail of Neil's strictest policy letter received must be promptly. Needless to say, busy man. Before long, 1-year-old Nagourney's with his appointment as a firm.

ly is the major publishing club editors study it publication announcements interest CBC members. review copies of such publisher, who usually sends delays months before the based to the public.

of such books now come market and will often books to the club. In some publisher may send a manuscript at he has not yet decided approval of the manuscript significantly to the publisher bring out the book in cases, CBC members send a book to the club's

contacts in the conservative has been able to enlist qualified people aside ors to aid in the screen-books. A book must have readings before it is b selection. Books are in criteria: literary style, club's desire to offer a objects to its broad-based

describes a selection in member has the opportunity

to reject any book he does not think will interest him. Books on political philosophy are popular with some members, while others like biographical works or fiction or anti-Communist documentation or political action.

The success of the Conservative Book Club laid the financial cornerstone for the second half of Neil McCaffrey's dream—in many ways the more important half.

On Nov. 1, 1965, Arlington House Publishers was born. Theodore Lit left Fulton Lewis Jr.'s staff in Washington, D.C., to become senior editor. Ted was joined shortly thereafter by Aaron Brown and Neal Freeman, a frequent contributor to *National Review* and other conservative publications.

Within a year of its founding, Arlington House had signed contracts with some 50 authors, both famous and unknown.

Since then Arlington House has published such diverse and needed books as *The Warren Revolution* by L. Brent Bozell, *Black and Conservative* by George Schuyler, *The Spirit of '76* by Holmes Alexander, *Wooden Nickels* by William Rickenbacker, *Spies, Dupes and Diplomats* by Ralph de Toledano, *Time Will Run Back* by Henry Hazlitt, *Hysteria 1964: The Fear Campaign Against Barry Goldwater* by Lionel Lokos, and F. Clifton White's *Suite 3505: The Story of the Draft Goldwater Movement*. Arlington House also reissued Victor Lasky's best-seller, J.F.K.: *The Man and the Myth*.

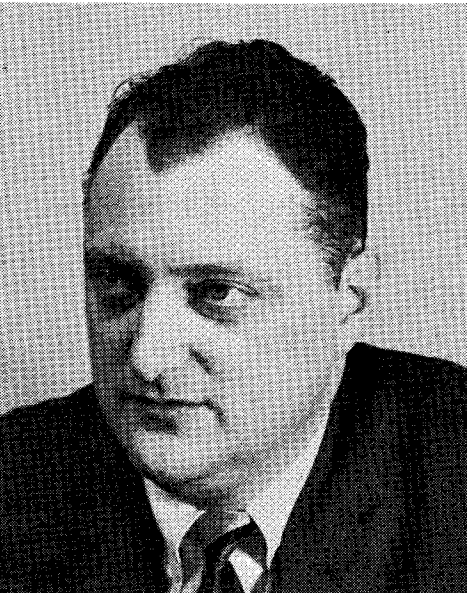
Although comparatively small and still young, Arlington House has already begun to make a difference in the publishing world. More and more book publishers are coming to the conclusion that there is a sizable market for conservative books.

Five years ago a conservative author almost had to go through an obstacle course to get his book published. Today this is no longer true, and Arlington House has made a significant contribution to this change of climate in American publishing.

standards of American industry, is still a small business.

Q. How much can an author expect to receive from a book?

A. If an author's book is priced at \$5 and sells 5,000 copies the author would normally receive \$2,500 in royalties. The royalty scales rise as the book sells more than 5,000 or 10,000 copies. The author will also make extra money if his book is used by a book club, or is reprinted in paperback, or is serialized, or is published in a foreign country. Broadly, only the most successful authors can make a living from writing books alone. Most authors have other jobs or do other writing besides books.



Neil McCaffrey, head of the Conservative Book Club and Arlington House publishers.

Q. What are the advantages to an author in signing up with a small company like Arlington House?

A. This is really two questions in one. First, what is the advantage of signing with a small as against a large publisher? There are advantages and disadvantages. The large publisher will have a larger sales staff, and therefore better distribution. But an author, unless he is a star, can easily get lost in a large publishing house. A small publisher will be able to give more attention to an individual book.

As for Arlington House, we are not only medium-small, but also specialized. We are a conservative publishing house, and we know the market for conservative books. Therefore, aside from a handful of conservative authors who are household names, I think a conservative author is better off with Arlington House than with any other firm I can think of. Even one of the "household name" authors would not do badly with Arlington House, because we can promote a book to his prime market better than the big general publishers who have no real knowledge of this market.

Q. In your opinion, are most books published today promoted properly?

A. Most books are promoted badly, for several reasons. First, too many books are being published, and there are not enough bodies to give proper attention to each book. Second, there just isn't enough money in the sale of a typical book (which can expect to sell fewer than 5,000 copies) to afford any kind of serious promotion. Finally, there is a shortage of talent. A book is one of the hardest things to promote; the copywriter must be literate and knowledgeable and talented in his craft. Yet if a writer is all these things, he can make much more money selling soap.

Q. Is there a liberal bias in book clubs, in publishing houses?

A. Virtually everyone in a key position in book publishing is a liberal. Some allow their bias to show, but they are in the minority. Most liberals in publishing will tell you, quite honestly, that they are perfectly willing to publish conservative books. The problem is, do they know how to evaluate a conservative book? Do they realize the market is there? Do they know how to promote a conservative book?

Note that these questions apply only to manuscripts that come to the publisher, and to books that he has already contracted for. A liberal publisher or editor hardly ever gets an idea for a conservative book. He doesn't go out after a conservative book, or try to develop conservative authors. This is not conscious bias; it is simply that he never thinks in these terms. How could he? It is a world he doesn't move in. And this is the real problem in developing conservative books and authors.

Q. Does Arlington House ever intend to invade the textbook field?

A. Not in the foreseeable future. First, the educationist hierarchy tends to buy its books only from established textbook publishers. It's a tight field, very hard and costly to break into. Even more important, the educationist hierarchy would not be sympathetic to a conservative publisher.

Q. How many books a week do you read?

A. Only about three or four a month, I'm sorry to say. I have to keep up with some 40 periodicals, and they dig into my reading time.

Q. Will Arlington House ever get into the paperback field?

A. Not for the time being, and maybe never. Paperback is dog-eat-dog, and we don't have the resources or the expertise in this field to compete successfully. A small or medium-sized publisher is much better off turning his books over to one of the established paperback houses.

Q. How many books do you turn down for every one you select for CBC?

A. At least a dozen, and for any one of several reasons.

Q. How influential is CBC outside conservative circles?

A. A hard question. It really depends upon how influential conservatives are outside conservative circles. I think we are becoming more influential, and I think the club is playing a role. It is generally acknowledged that the Left Book Club in England helped pave the way for the Labor Victory in the elections. The Left Book Club wasn't much larger than ours, but it reached influential leftists. I hope our club can serve the same function for our side.

A. There are so many. First, to find good writers. Then to find good writers who have time to write a book. (Many of our best conservative writers are so busy working on magazines or writing columns that they can't spare the time for a book.) Another problem is human error and plain carelessness. I saw just recently, in an eminent conservative magazine, the governor of Ohio referred to as *John Rhodes* (he is James; John is the congressman from Arizona). Above all, the decline of humane letters and liberal education makes for gray writing and dreary reading.

Q. What about humor, satire—do you offer them to CBC members?

A. Whenever possible, yes. But we spoke earlier about the growing indifference to good fiction. We offered two novels in the club that I consider marvelous satires: Auberon Waugh's *Path of Dalliance* and Russell Kirk's *A Creature of the Twilight*. I am sorry to say that many of our members didn't share my enthusiasm.

Q. Are short books or long books more popular?

A. I don't think length matters.

Q. How long does it take to produce a book?

A. In order to edit a book properly and produce it on less than a crisis schedule (a schedule that breeds errors), it now takes from nine months to a year from the date a manuscript is delivered until publication date of the book.

Q. How long does it take to write a book?

A. This of course varies. I have known books to be written in a matter of weeks (including a very good one, *Seeds of Treason*); others have taken years. If a writer can give full time to a manuscript of average length (about 100,000 words), he should finish comfortably in a year.

Q. What is an average good sale for a book?

A. That would depend upon the kind of book. If we eliminate special sales such as those made through book clubs, and if we leave out paperbacks, a book that sells 7,000 or 8,000 copies through regular book outlets is doing well. This comes as a surprise to many people. But book publishing, by the

How to End the War in Viet Nam

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Sen. Robert Kennedy is quoted as fearing the Viet Nam war may endanger the Democratic ticket in 1968; and New York's senior senator, Jacob Javits, apparently concurs when he says the GOP will profit thereby.

They may be right. But at the moment, most of us non-politicos are far more concerned about what's happening to the country rather than its parties. And the way things are going, there may not be a recognizable United States in 1968.

We certainly are anything but united now—indeed, we are split asunder as never before in my lifetime. Heretofore, hawk or dove, once our men were dying on the battlefield we closed ranks; but this war has divided us so that we are dangerously near an internal Civil War.

Now, I am no great admirer of the President, and have frequently commented on the "credibility gap" and on the meretriciousness of many of his proposals. But I think history will record that his most conspicuous failure lay in his inability to unite the country behind him in this critical period.

For I cannot imagine a peace demonstration of 150,000 while Americans were dying at Chateau-Thierry in World War I; nor during the Battle of the Bulge in World War II. (Nor, for that

matter, can I see Wilson, FDR, Truman or Ike inviting Lassie to the White House to spark a city beautification project while our boys were fighting in the ugly swampholes of Viet Nam.)

When the building is burning and the firemen—our sons—are risking their lives to put out the blaze, I think it is up to the rest of us to back them to the hilt. It is hardly the time to demonstrate against the fire chief and inveigh against his faults.

After the fire is out, there will be time to assess the blame, condemn the chief if he has been guilty of malfeasance and retire him in favor of a better man. But not when the casualty lists are running about 1,000 a week.

I am aware that my metaphor will be questioned by the demonstrators. They will argue that it is they who are quenching the blaze and that those who support the war are fanning the flames into a possible world conflagration in which we all may perish.

But I have read all their arguments and speeches, and have yet to find one practical suggestion as to how to get Ho to the conference table. Heaven knows LBJ has made every human effort to end the bloodshed on face-saving terms—and Ho has said *Nyet!* every time.

It may be he fears that our cunning American bargainers, who dealt so

cruelly with Japan and Germany, may outwit him with their guile. What we obviously need, as Teddy Kennedy has so originally phrased it, are "bold, imaginative steps to take us to the peace table" to end the war nobody wanted. The senator didn't elaborate, but I can take a hint.

We must make Ho an offer he cannot reject. I suggest, therefore, that LBJ not only stop all bombing immediately, but announce that America will be represented at the conference table by the following men of proven good-will:

1. Stokely Carmichael, who has called LBJ a buffoon, Dean Rusk a fool and

- Secretary McNamara a racist. That's certainly meeting Ho halfway.
2. Linus Pauling, author of "I am ashamed of my country," a proclamation he has repeated ad infinitum.
 3. Dr. Martin Luther King, who has promised a hot "Viet Nam Summer," in order "to defeat Lyndon Johnson and his war."
 4. Bertrand Russell, who, unable to hold his "war crime trials" in Paris, would probably gladly transfer them to Geneva. Or, if Ho insists, an even more neutral place. Maybe Hanoi?
 5. Fidel Castro and/or Herbert Matthews.
- If that doesn't mellow Ho, nothing will. I hope you find the suggestion bold and imaginative enough, Senator Ted.
- (Copyright 1967, Washington Star Syndicate)

What Should GOP Advocate?

By BARRY GOLDWATER

For one reason or another, people keep asking me questions about politics. My mail continues to run at the rate of hundreds of letters every week. My speaking appearances continue to carry me to every section of the country.

This is by way of preamble for some comments on political spokespersonship.

First, let me make it perfectly clear that I do not consider myself titular leader of the Republican party. I have said repeatedly that I regard that leadership properly to be vested in the Congress after any unsuccessful presidential race.

On the other hand, I do not believe that a political defeat is the same as a political gag. If it were we would not have many vocal politicians. Nor do I feel that it would be anywhere close to the mark to suggest that a candidacy for which 27 million Americans voted was out of the so-called mainstream.



Former Sen. Goldwater says "businesslike" socialism is no answer for the Republican party.

Which brings me to my point. Despite the sharp, shooting pains this undoubtedly will cause in some quarters, I intend in the months ahead to speak clearly and plainly on political matters, including highly partisan matters. To the full extent proper and appropriate, these comments will be made in this column.

In many of these comments I will continue to try to make clear that this country has not yet become a one-idea, one-party, one-man, one-way political street. There are, despite some loud arguments to the contrary, two sides to political questions.

It is far from true, for instance, to suggest that the socialization of America is a settled matter and that the only responsible position for the Republican party is to represent a form of "mixed" socialism in which the so-called private sector becomes only a junior partner whose main role is to support or supplement government encroachments on everyone's enterprise and energy.

There is a basic political issue here that is not to be solved by simply advocating "businesslike" socialism. The question is actually an either/or matter: Either the government is going to be subordinated to and be that servant of the people generally, or the people generally are going to be subordinated to and be the servants of the government.

Any answer in between is simply a way-station on the way to one of the polar positions.

Thus, there are actual alternatives to socialism, and I intend to speak out regularly on them—and to urge that the Republican party regularly base its proposals on these alternatives rather than on echoes of the opposite position.

In foreign policy, also, there are crucial matters of alternatives. For instance, some of the most serious foreign policy proposals being made today are based upon the flat conclusion that the Cold War has ended, that communism has abandoned its aggressive plans and that capitalism and communism are so "mellowed" that they are coming to be the same thing.

Needless to say, this attitude is not strictly partisan. Some of the most significant arguments of the sort are coming from Republicans. One, as a matter of fact, has been quoted as saying that we should reply to the Communist boast that they will "bury" capitalism by saying that we've already buried it ourselves.

Others are leading the fight for new economic concessions to communism. Certainly such proposals deserve comments representative of what I still consider to be the "conservative" heart of the Republican party.

In my next column, in keeping with this, I will discuss the acceptability of a "dove" as a Republican presidential candidate.

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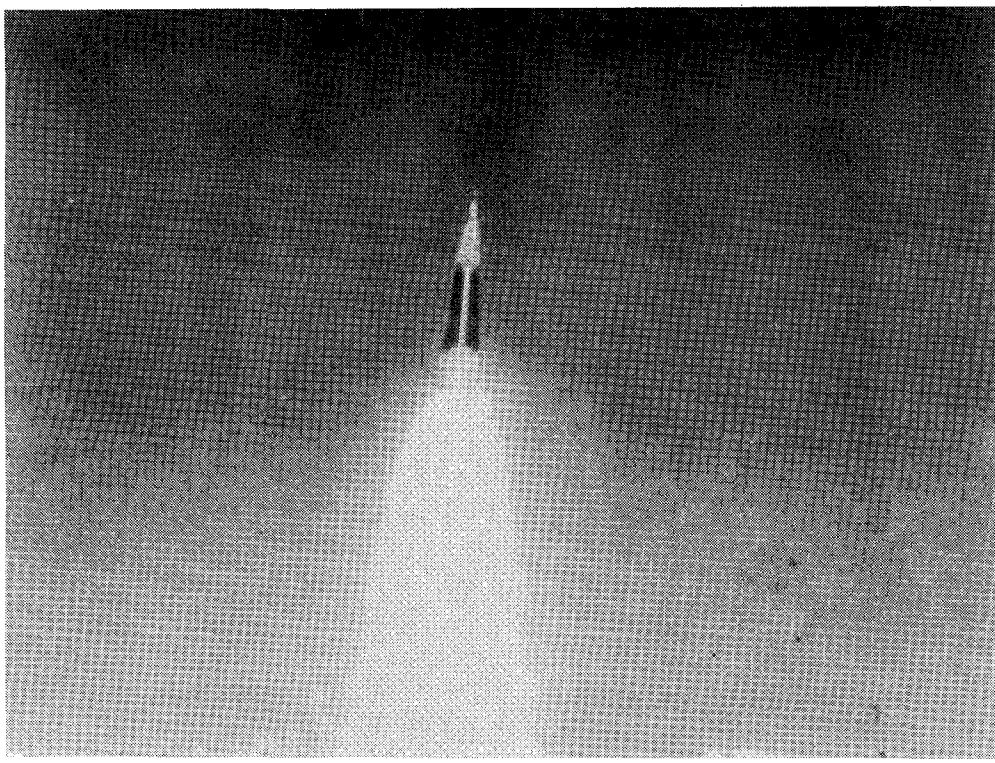
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A Hibex booster rocket streaks skyward as part of U.S. testing on missile defenses, which America will need more than ever if the nuclear proliferation treaty takes effect.

Still Time to Write Congress

Non-Proliferation Treaty Real Danger to Liberties

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Further delay in Russo-American agreement on a nuclear non-proliferation treaty gives the American people another chance to realize and, if they choose, to prevent what could be one of the most disastrous steps in human history.

Consider the possible results of such a Russo-American treaty which all other countries but France and China had been induced or compelled to sign.

For the first time, two countries would wield absolute power over the entire planet. Nuclear power is, for the present at least, irresistible power. Nor could the minor nuclear forces of France, China and Britain (supposing the British kept their nuclear arms) guarantee real independence to their successors.

The new situation would vaguely resemble that which existed in the first two centuries after Christ when the Roman Empire and the Chinese Han Empire more or less dominated the Eurasian continent. But with a difference: Roman and Han Chinese force was essentially like that of all other peoples, only greater.

Under the non-proliferation treaty all but five countries would accept an insuperable qualitative inferiority in power and of them, three would be barely more than paper tigers.

Acting together, the United States and the Soviet Union could impose two-power rule on the world's population—by nuclear bombing or threat of bombing. The temptation to do so, naturally in the name of peace and moral principles, could become irresistible.

This, however, presupposes that the common interest of the two super-powers would remain greater than their differences. This, in view both of their history and their current ideological incompatibility, would be highly questionable.

In all likelihood the two would continue to wage cold war, by all means short of nuclear war. Each, for economic, moral and prestige reasons, would seek to collect as many client states as possible. This would divide the planet along ever sharper lines.

Or again, many non-nuclear countries

might seek to follow the undeveloped countries of Asia and Africa and remain "non-aligned," in the hope of securing economic advantages from the sides. This might develop into the greatest blackmail of all time.

Meanwhile, the arms race between the giants would continue, openly or in secret. With the perfection of some weapon—even today a plausible event—each of the two giants would seek, not to maintain the kind of nuclear stalemate sought by idealists in the American Administration and by foxy Russians, but clandestine superiority. Life in the United States would become ever more militarized and if the race continued long enough, would see a vast shrinkage of that personal liberty and those democratic practices which so many Americans have given and are giving their lives to preserve.

Any way you look at it, our acceptance of a non-proliferation treaty with the Soviet Union and its imposition on the rest of the world would be a major historical disaster.

This is not the way our disarmers look at the situation. In their eyes, the treaty would be merely the first step to that "general and total disarmament" which might make possible the creation of a real world authority to keep the peace. This is a noble dream. But there is no sound evidence that the Kremlin-men share it unless the entire world first comes under Communist influence. The rest is wishful thinking.

This, then, is my forecast of a world under an anti-proliferation treaty. Should readers share it, they still, thanks to Russian haggling, have time to make their present unyielding opposition to such a treaty clear to the American Administration.

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Stop Encouraging Strikes

Many discriminatory laws should be revised

By HENRY HAZLITT

To prevent a nationwide railroad strike, neither government seizure of the roads nor compulsory arbitration can be justified. Seizure violates property rights and punishes the struck-against rather than the strikers. Compulsory arbitration infringes the rights of both parties.

Yet we seem to have arrived at an impasse from which many people think that seizure, compulsory arbitration or laws forbidding strikes are the only ways out, not only of the present railroad crisis, but of strike threats generally.

But there is a far less dangerous and desperate course. This is to review, revise or repeal the federal and many of the state labor laws now on the books, including some which have been there for a generation.

Most of these laws directly or indirectly foster and encourage strikes, either by taking all the major risks and penalties out of striking or by permitting intimidation and violence or by preventing employers from taking adequate defensive action.

We have just had an example of a particularly outrageous encouragement to strikes. On April 24 the governor of New Jersey signed a bill which would make unemployment benefits payable to strikers after they have been on strike for more than six weeks.

This will reward long strikes. It will force employers to subsidize a strike against themselves. It will force taxpayers to subsidize the strikes that impose most hardship on them.

Fortunately only two other states—New York and Rhode Island—pay unemployment benefits to strikers. But the New Jersey action is a fresh example of how spineless some of our politicians can still be, and how indifferent to the interest of the public, when labor union leaders put on the pressure.

Our labor laws foster strikes in scores of ways. The federal Norris-LaGuardia Act, which has been on the books since

1932, denies injunctive relief to employers and employees suffering irreparable injury even from clearly unlawful conduct on the part of strikers. This law is in urgent need of repeal.

It would be desirable for Congress and especially the states to go even further. All mass picketing should be illegalized by the states on the ground that it is clearly intimidatory and obstructive. Congress should pass a similar prohibition in respect to any labor dispute over which the federal government has assumed jurisdiction. In addition, it should provide that any union resorting to violence, mass picketing or intimidation would lose its rights under the Taft-Hartley Act.

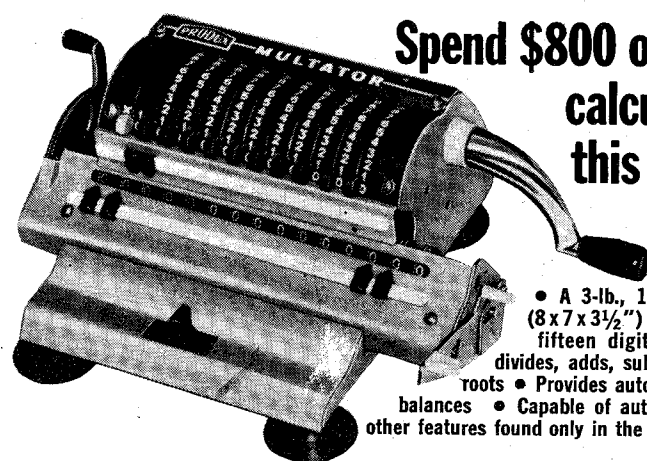
The general rule to be followed is clear. Strikes should continue to be legally permitted, but so should the employer's right to combat them. The employer should have the undisputed right to discharge a striker or to assume that he has voluntarily quit and to replace him peaceably and, if he wishes, permanently.

The employer does not have that clear right today. The National Labor Relations Board is always liable to come along, even years later, and to rule that this replacement was an unfair labor practice and that the employer must rehire the striker or strikers with back pay for the whole period they were replaced.

If we are to respect the freedom of workers we must respect the equal freedom of employers. The employer should not be under the legal compulsion to bargain exclusively with a specified union and no one else. Such a compulsion in effect compels him to make constant concessions and surrenders.

We can avoid labor chaos. We can avoid antistrike legislation. We can avoid compulsory arbitration. But we can do so only if we are willing to restore freedom and balance in our labor laws.

(Copyright 1967, Los Angeles Times)



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Searching the World to bring you the Finest

Why Americans Die in Viet Nam: Undermanned and Underequipped

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Let the dead speak. A reader, Mrs. John Breda of California, has sent me the last letter she received from her son. It was written on March 13, 1967. Six days later, Lt. Dennis Breda was killed in action in Viet Nam. His words to his parents are a posthumous document, expressing eloquently the plight of our fighting men in the Vietnamese war. Vietnik propaganda has restrained the hand of our government and contributed to the deaths of Americans who find themselves without adequate support in a war that must be won.

"Now we are still on the Cambodian border, right in the middle of the Ho Chi Minh Trail. We have been here for about a month and a half. We take our tracks through even the thickest jungle. There are all types of missions: search and destroy, ambushes, blocking forces, convoy security. Most of the time the VC [Viet Cong] avoid contact with us . . . Gen. Westmoreland says we are the best mechanized infantry unit in Viet Nam today. . . .

"We have been kept pretty busy. After being in the field for so long, we are tired and dirty. I have been wounded twice. Once from a command detonated mine, detonated from Cambodia. Another time from a VC machine gun. The day I was wounded from a VC machine gun, I lost 14 of my men.

"My biggest gripe is that my platoon is so under-strength. It is a rare day that I go into the field with 30 men. . . . I'm getting tired of being under-strength. It is hard on the men because they have to pull twice their normal duty. These things can kill us all. . . . We need a lot of fighting units here, not people

who sit in Saigon with stockpiles of equipment we need and never see, who don't even know that a war is going on. . . .

"We are losing too many good soldiers clearing an area, then moving out only to let the VC move back in. That is what happened to the Iron Triangle. When a truce comes . . . the VC move back in and resupply. After that we have to go back and do the job again, only this time we run into the mines and booby traps that the VC put in.

"On my latest combat mission, my men and I were without a radio in our track because none were available. . . .

"I think that when one man dies in a war there should be no half-way effort to end the killing. When anyone does it is a war and should be crushed with all the ability we have to do so. People, soldiers' lives should cost a hell of a price. With our country's great strength, it is a face-losing thing when we must take so long to crush a weak, poorly-equipped enemy. Well, I've put my two cents in your ears. I guess I'll stop screaming into the mighty winds that just blow."

A Viet Cong command detonated mine put an end to Lt. Breda's plea for men and equipment, and for the all-out support of a government made timid by the smears and distortions of a reckless minority.

Did this American fighting man die in vain?

"Yes," says his mother. "As long as we, the United States, do not voice our inner feelings and convictions, our sons and husbands will continue to go into this war under-strength, with in-

sufficient supplies, fighting a war with many restrictions, fighting communism overseas while it flourishes on our shore. Become aware of the facts, form your opinions, speak out, and let every voice be heard. Only then can we say a life given in this conflict was with cause."

In this hour of sorrow and travail, Mrs. John Breda has spoken out the way the mothers and wives have always spoken out in times of American crisis. And crisis it is, as the President has come to learn. The people of this country are not intimidated by the propaganda horrors invoked by the Vietniks and their cynical advisers.

The voice of America is not the voice of Martin Luther King, of Robert F. Kennedy, or of Stokely Carmichael. The men of action are not the draft-card and flag burners. Americans know what appeasement and unilateral withdrawal mean. They oppose the Vietnamese war because it is being fought with half-measures under a double-think strategy. They want an end to the fighting, but with honor and in victory.

That is what Lt. Breda's letter means. That is what the Mrs. Bredas of America know. They make me feel humble.

(Copyright 1967, King Features Synd.)



One of the nearly 10,000 Americans to die in combat in Viet Nam is carried away by this Marine patrol after bitter fighting.

Increasing Home Construction

Give Private Enterprise a Fair Chance

By LAWRENCE FERTIG

A vigorous expansion of the depressed home construction industry is important for continuing prosperity. When will home building really revive?

There has been a decline in housing starts since the 1963 peak of 1.64 million. Last year's total was 1.25 million. Last October housing starts fell to an annual rate of 850,000, just about 60 per cent of the previous year's activity. There has been some pickup this year, but activity is still not robust.

A great many new plans for increasing home building are based on government subsidy or government support of some kind. It is a delusion to think that this is the way to success. Contrary to general public opinion, home construction is overwhelmingly a private enterprise industry. Any attempt to stimulate it must be through private industry channels. This is what most people do not realize today.

Suppose you were asked what percentage of homes built in the United States are aided by government subsidy or government-backed mortgage financing—what would you guess? That government accounts for the majority of housing in this country? Nothing could be further from the truth.

Here are some interesting facts. Last year, of 1.25 million housing starts, 1.22 million were private housing construction. Many people think that Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Admini-

stration guaranteed mortgages play a dominant role in financing home construction. This is not correct. These government mortgages accounted for only 170,000 units—less than 14 per cent of private home construction. In trying to stimulate a \$25-billion-a-year industry, it is important to place the accent where it ought to be placed—on encouraging private construction and private financing.

Scarcity of mortgage money is not, and has not been, the only impediment to more home construction by private enterprise. The high cost of new houses is an important factor in restricting home sales. The \$100 or \$200-a-week wage earner finds it increasingly difficult to buy a home constructed by those who earn \$300 to \$400 a week or more.

The average hourly wage in home construction is now \$4.01 per hour, which is 44 per cent higher than the hourly \$2.78 in manufacturing. Home builders today in San Francisco, for instance, must pay plumbers \$7.88 an hour, including fringe benefits, and \$13.23 an hour for overtime, which begins after a seven-hour day. In New York a plumbers strike of over 165 days shut down many essential building projects, such as hospitals and public institutions, and the result was a wage rise to \$6.49 an hour. Similar high wages for other specialists working on home construction zooms the cost for every home builder.

So by any yardstick, building employees are well paid. But now building

trade unions are seeking another advantage which will raise costs even higher.

A bill is now before Congress which would give any union the power to shut down an entire building project by striking. This bill (H.R. 100) would amend the National Labor Relations Act to permit a single union to picket an entire building project and thus stop work on that project until its demands are met. Under present law, such general picketing would be considered a secondary boycott against those contractors not involved in the dispute. This is now illegal.

The proposed amendment would increase the number of man-hours lost by strikes. Last year 6.7 million man-days were lost by strikes in the construction industry. The new bill would increase featherbedding in an industry which is already plagued with excessive feather-

bedding practices. Briefly, it would saddle the building industry with more trouble and higher costs.

The real questions which Congress must face are these. Do construction unions need still more power to enforce their demands? Aren't building costs too high now, and will they not rise beyond reach of the average man if they go higher? Judging by recent union gains, it seems plain that the addition of "site picketing" to the arsenal of weapons which construction unions now possess would give them an additional weapon of atomic power to devastate the home building industry.

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Congressmen Denied Report on OEO Scandals

By ROBERT S. ALLEN

An "iron curtain of secrecy" is blocking the disclosure of embarrassing facts concerning the operations of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

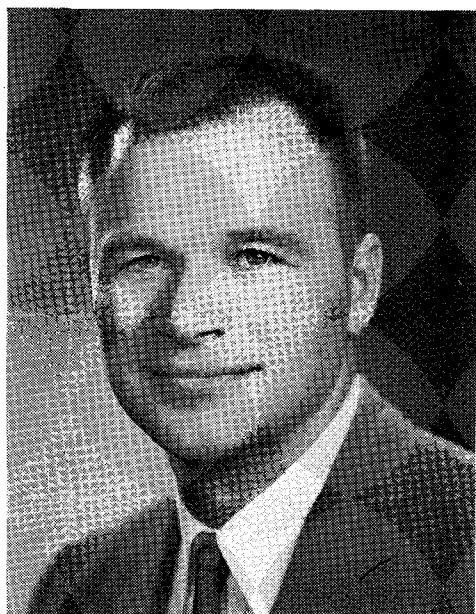
Sargent Shriver, head of the widely controversial multi-billion-dollar anti-poverty agency, has repeatedly avowed willingness to permit the examination of its records and reports. But members of Congress and others have been brusquely rebuffed when they sought to take him at his word.

Latest instance is the effort by Rep. Albert Quie (Minn.) to obtain access to a number of reports on OEO scandals known to be in its files.

A ranking Republican member of the House Education and Labor Committee, which has charge of anti-poverty legislation, Quie and Rep. Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.), another committeeman, are authors of "Opportunity Crusade," a comprehensive alternative to the Administration's embattled anti-poverty program.

Quie proposed to send an experienced research assistant to Shriver's headquarters to examine reports which he specifically enumerated. They included:

- Payment of bonuses of \$25 to \$80 each for recruiting Job Corps enrollees.
- Audit reports on HARYOU in New York; Boston Community Action Agency; Job Corps center, Camp Atterbury, Ind.; Job Corps center, Camp Breckenridge, Ky.; Cleveland Action for Youth program; Mingo, W. Va., County Community Action Agency; Suncoast Progress (Fla.) Neighborhood Youth Corps.
- Report on an investigation in Newark, N.J., which culminated in the con-



Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) has tried for 18 months to look at the audited report on the "War on Poverty."

viction of an NYC administrator and his assistant.

- OEO personnel and administrative records.
- Inspector General's reports of OEO investigations, and all fiscal records including OEO audit reports, contracts and memorandums and related studies and evaluations.

At first, Shriver ignored Quie's request. When the latter determinedly persisted, with a barrage of letters and telegrams, Shriver finally, after more than a month, turned him down.

The OEO chief gave various reasons for insisting on an "iron curtain of secrecy."

One was that "misinterpretation and confusion might result from superficial scrutiny by inexperienced personnel of material in audit reports generally." Another was the suave suggestion that Quie "might want to request the General Accounting Office to evaluate the handling of OEO audits."

The Minnesota Republican sharply rejected these alibis as more cover-up. Bluntly pointing out that OEO is notorious for procrastinating in replying to inquiries, "taking an average of from four to six weeks to do so," Quie told Shriver:

"It is my contention that until Congress and the public are fully aware of the fiscal details of these and other scandals, an objective evaluation of the fiscal integrity of the 'War on Poverty' cannot be made. Only until the full facts are known of what has transpired in OEO's management of the billions of dollars it has been voted by Congress can an accurate and sound evaluation be made of the quality and integrity of the management of the program and the worthwhileness of the various projects of the program.

"On repeated occasions, you [Shriver] have stated that you would welcome 'close scrutiny' of the anti-poverty program. In response to such a statement on a recent TV program, I proposed to send a trusted and experienced investigator to review your files and records. You responded by refusing to permit the examination of these audit reports and OEO's own inspection reports.

"For 18 months other members of Congress and I have been trying to get the audit and inspection reports of OEO scandals. These scandals run into millions of dollars. But these reports have been withheld by you, and no one outside of OEO has ever seen them."

Rep. Carl Perkins (D.-Ky.), new chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, contemplates opening hearings on President Johnson's new \$2.06-billion anti-poverty budget the latter part of this month.

At that time Quie, supported by the 13 other Republican committeemen, will demand a full airing of the suppressed OEO audit and inspection reports. They will also call for the summoning and interrogation of witnesses on numerous OEO scandals that have made headlines throughout the country.

★ ★ ★

Except for the huge Defense Department, the publicity staff of the Office of Economic Opportunity is the largest and most aggressive in the government.

Headed by Herbert Kramer, one-time vice president in charge of public relations and advertising for a large insurance company, the press staff numbers around 50 and has a budget of more than \$2.4 million.

Around one-half million of that is for salaries alone.

For these publicity agents, some with salaries exceeding \$20,000, the anti-poverty program is juicy pickings.

Kramer and his army of assistants pride themselves on their fast reaction to criticism. They have a high-speed duplicating machine that can pour out 2,400 hand-outs an hour, 10 telephone lines, and Kramer or one of his lieutenants is available to newsmen around the clock.

They send out a steady stream of OEO propaganda ranging from businesslike newsletters to slick and elaborate magazines. Lately, OEO publicity has concentrated on glamorizing the scandal-racked Job Corps centers—which admittedly are in serious difficulty in Congress.

But unhappily for Kramer and his bustling staff, while they are busily grinding out reams of favorable publicity, their efforts are constantly being torpedoed by the eruption of a headline-making disturbance at a Job Corps center.

Illustrative was the recent demand of the Salt Lake (Utah) Public Safety commissioner for military police "to protect us from an invasion of Job Corps enrollees." Commissioner James Barker charged, "We've had all kinds of trouble with these people. Supervisors are sent with them when they come to town, but apparently can't control them. We've got to have military police to protect our citizens."

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Union Short-Sightedness

The Death of a Newspaper

From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat

Demise of the *World Journal Tribune* can be laid squarely at the door of union greed and stupidity.

After only eight months of publication, the *World Journal Tribune* succumbed. The cause, in the owners' words, was a union attitude of "pay or shut down."

Matt Meyer, president of the newspaper, speaking for the owners, said the paper was forced by unions to hire 500 more employees than needed and also that it had suffered 55 harassing disputes with labor unions during its first six months of operation, including 18 actual work stoppages.

New York City has lost one of its four remaining daily newspapers and 2,500 employees have been put out of work overnight because nearly a dozen unions fought tooth and nail for money that wasn't there.

This is a classic example of union stupidity. Even though the fledgling newspaper was losing money at a rate of \$700,000 a month, the unions made even higher demands. They literally put themselves out of work, trying to force a paper known to be on shaky financial grounds to pay excessive wages.

New York City had more than 20 newspapers in the 1920s. It now is left with but three major dailies—the New

York Times and the *Daily News* in the morning and only one afternoon paper, the *New York Post*, a shaky and poor paper for years.

The man who really nailed the coffin of the *World Journal Tribune* was Bertram Powers, head of Local 6 of the International Typographical Union. After compelling the *New York Daily News* to accept the most expensive printers contract in its history, Powers was quoted by Meyer as saying the settlement would apply to the *World Journal Tribune* and that "all they can do is pay or shut down."

If this union power play against newspapers isn't stopped, it will ring the death knell for many other great newspapers in America.

After being largely responsible for driving three great newspapers out of business in New York City last year, these same grasping, short-sighted unions repeated the performance on the merged survivor of two of the three publications. They had learned nothing from the folding of the *Journal-American*, the *World-Telegram and Sun* and the *Herald-Tribune*.

Fighting for a good wage is one thing. But demanding exorbitant wages when there is no money to pay them is sheer stupidity.

New York City and the nation are poorer for this pigheadedness.

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'Intellectuals' and Viet Nam

By FREDERIC NELSON

Joe Alsop, a collateral Roosevelt himself, once said—well, I *did* get this second-hand—"Unless we Roosevelts get 75 per cent of the breaks, we think we're being discriminated against." You can make a case for the belief that something like that has happened to the protesters against the American effort to thwart a Communist take-over of Southeast Asia.

For months the dissenters have had the stage pretty much to themselves. Congressional committees listened intently to witnesses who explained that we couldn't win in Viet Nam, that President Johnson was dictating a policy against the wishes of the people, that, as the Rev. Eugene C. Blake, the Presbyterian Pope, put it, "the United States goes, step by step, to disaster." College kids burn Marshal Ky in effigy and at Harvard Secretary of Defense McNamara was asked, in rude chants, how many kids he had killed today.

The days and nights have been made hideous with the wailings of pickets and protesters and the sophistries of the Fulbright-Morse-Bobby clique in the Senate. But, to hear Richard Goodwin tell it, it's the dissenters who are threatened by a "dangerous and undemocratic demagoguery"!

Finally a harassed President Johnson, going along with the press-attested theory that his "credibility gap" was too wide to make any statement by him worth making, undertook to give the country a military commander's view of the war's progress and a prognosis for the future. To the average man, if any such remain, this would seem to be normal procedure. After everybody worth 10 minutes of TV time had sounded off on the demerits of the conflict, there would seem to be nothing extraordinary about soliciting the opinion of the man who was on top of the operation: Gen. Westmoreland.

If you thought that, you thought without taking account of those frenzied defenders of fair play, the liberal-left. Like Joe Alsop's Roosevelts, the protest movement regards it as an outrage that anybody—especially somebody with the facts in his head—should make a case for the other side. Rhetoric was threatened by an untimely intrusion of truth. Disaster threatened the protest industry, and like other uneasy industries, monopoly was seized upon as a solution.

So we find pundit Walter Lippmann—soon to conclude in desperation that it might need a Ripon-type Republican victory to end the Viet Nam trouble—claiming a foul on the ground that it was "playing with fire" to permit a field commander to address Congress. Then the egregious Fulbright leaked the gossipy item that senatorial "hawks," whom he identified by name, were motivated by the fact that important defense industries were located in their areas. And the even more egregious Arthur Schlesinger Jr., in a New York Times article, implied that Gen. Westmoreland favored "abolishing" protest marches, meanwhile pooh-poohing the general's notion that such demonstrations encourage enemy resistance.

In one sentence Schlesinger betrayed an appalling ignorance of Communist strategy. He wrote: "The evidence suggests that our adversaries are fighting not because they expect us to collapse, but because they believe fanatically in their cause." (So fanatically that the Communist Gauleiters have found it

necessary to murder, torture or kidnap at least 53,000 Vietnamese—Westmoreland's figures—in order to stimulate their devotion.)

Any student of the subject should know that Communist strategy always subordinates purely military activity to broader political goals, the principal one just now being to undermine the "infrastructure" of the West, the major emphasis being on the U.S.A.

Indeed, it could be said that the Communist direction of the recent "peace" demonstration in New York was of at least equal importance with the military aggression in Asia. The assignments given to Mr. Inside and Mr. Outside are both vital to the success of the Red conspiracy.

The effort by Mr. Schlesinger, et al., to purge themselves of responsibility for the possible consequences of their propaganda is disingenuous, to say the least. In order to have it both ways, Schlesinger insists that he is not advocating immediate withdrawal from Viet Nam, but only a "holding operation"—what we conservative dissenters call a No-Win War. That way there would still be enough war going on to keep the protest industry in business, but not enough of a war seriously to damage the Communists and thus disturb our protesters even more deeply.

The point is that while the crying towel squad has been busily undercutting their country's still inadequate effort to curb Communist aggression our military activity, hobbled though it has been, must be credited with having firmed up anti-Communist resistance throughout Asia and in Africa as well.

In a recent letter to the London *Telegraph* Sir Huge Knatchbul-Hugessen, formerly the British ambassador to Communist China, made the point this way: "If the U.S. forces were withdrawn, the whole of Southeast Asia would be at the mercy of the Communist world in the north. So far China has kept in the background, but would she continue to mark time with the door standing wide open?"

In the same correspondence column was a letter from the Earl of Rosslyn which included this passage designed to shame English critics of American policy, but might well be pondered over in the dovecotes over here.

"The fact that we still sleep peacefully in our beds at night is due to the Pax Americana which has succeeded the Pax Britannica enforced by the Royal Navy in the past," wrote the noble lord. "As an Englishman I am bitterly ashamed not only of our 'double think' toward the United States, but of our taking from them when it suits us and giving little or nothing in return, of our inability to make up our minds where we stand, and, to put it bluntly, our abject cowardice."

It is frightening to note that so many intellectuals, improperly so called, are indifferent to the crisis which faces their country and themselves, and hostile to those who are doing at least a token best to meet it. Here we are back to "the Treason of the Intellectuals" again. One wonders, however, whether they really believe their own propaganda. Otherwise, why do they so vehemently assail the honesty and good faith of those who meet their vaporings with some elementary truths? An opinion monopoly protected by violence and misrepresentation seems an odd program for self-proclaimed liberals.

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'Open Housing' Prod

By REP. LESLIE ARENDS (R.-Ill.)

Many members of Congress were amazed when our Illinois colleague, John Erlenborn, advised us that the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission told members of our Illinois General Assembly that the atom smasher plant planned for Weston, Ill., may be moved to some other site unless Illinois has an "open housing" law. It is tantamount to a \$300-million bribe. Some call it blackmail. To say the least, it is pressure propaganda.



Are we to conclude that federal projects will be undertaken only where there is compliance with the Administration's wishes? Presently, only 19 states have an "open occupancy" law, 31 have none. If not in Weston, as has been planned, where is the project to be located? Are we to conclude that all the other criteria—space, transportation, education facilities, water and electricity available, etc., that entered into the site selection—are to be ignored?

'Crisis' Pleas

By REP. FRANK T. BOW (R.-Ohio)

Over my desk constantly come pleas for appropriations from educators, city planners, professional associations, health organizations, wildlife and conservation clubs and many more. Time after time

I read that there is a "crisis in our cities" or a "crisis in urban planning" which can be cured only with a massive injection of federal dollars. I cannot help but point out that there is also a crisis in the federal pocketbook, and it is about time that the budget crisis was given consideration before any of us, in his individual or other capacity, ask Uncle Sam to spend more money.

LBJ's Strike Plan

By REP. BILL BROCK (R.-Tenn.)

More than two years ago the President promised to come up with a sound and workable plan for the settlement of strikes that threaten to cause severe disruptions in our economy and great inconvenience to our people. I must assume that he had—or certainly could have had—help from some of the best minds in the field of labor-management relations. Yet, after all this stalling, he comes to Congress with a plan that has been rejected time and time again—a plan which amounts, purely and simply, to compulsory arbitration.



I can't buy this approach. Such compulsion would reduce greatly the area of economic freedom for both labor and management. In spite of all the disclaimers already being trumpeted by the Administration, the plain truth is that this step would lead to a progressively greater government role in fixing wages and working conditions and, ultimately, would wipe out free collective bargaining.

AID's Viet Policies Soak Taxpayer

By REP. JAMES A. HALEY (D.-Fla.)

Two members of "the other body" (which is the manner in which members of the House of Representatives are supposed to refer to the Senate) are entitled to the commendations of the taxpayers for graphically highlighting what is wrong with our foreign aid program, and for that matter, our foreign services.

Sen. Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.) after months of effort, finally succeeded in shaking loose from the Agency for International Development (AID) a highly critical report on our foreign aid operations in Viet Nam. It constitutes a shocking indictment, of which I will have more to say later.

And Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) has exposed to the pitiless spotlight of publicity an innocently-worded piece of legislation—which was immediately killed—that would have provided incredible salary bonuses for civilian employees assigned to Viet Nam by AID, the State Department's Foreign Service, and the United States Information Agency.

This piece of outrageous (there is no other word for it) legislative hocus-pocus would have provided for the payment to these civilian employees of a bonus of 50 per cent of their salaries on the ground that Viet Nam is a "high risk" area. This would have meant bonuses for these people running up to \$13,000 a year. This compares with a maximum "bonus" of \$780 a year which our military men get for serving in a "hostile fire" zone in Viet Nam.

The bill would have paid the top foreign aid official in Viet Nam \$43,800 a year—better than \$12,000 more

than Commanding Gen. William C. Westmoreland gets, including his \$65-a-month combat pay. Two information agency officials would have been paid more than the vice president of the United States—and the taxpayers would have been allowed to pay for two round trips per year back home for all these civilian employees.

The proposal was, to me, particularly disgusting in view of the necessity for frequent investigation of the foreign aid agency for waste and extravagance. It was the report on such an investigation in Viet Nam which Sen. Bayh forced into the open.

The report—which AID first denied existed and then insisted was classified—was bitterly critical of Vietnamese AID activities, particularly in Saigon port and the Commodity Import program. It charged AID with "lack of adequate goals, policies, operating procedures and administrative talent" in Viet Nam—and documented those charges.

This is very important, because about \$550 million, or one-fifth, of AID's total budget is being spent in South Viet Nam, plus another \$175 million under the law making agricultural surpluses available to that country.

It is further significant that all of this proven waste and mismanagement was compiled under the direction of Rutherford M. Poats when he was AID's top man in Viet Nam. AID, and the White House, subsequently have rewarded Mr. Poats by naming him as AID's deputy administrator, supervising all of its operations around the world.

There must be an answer to this problem short of general seizure or compulsory arbitration. Now that the Administration has defaulted on its promise, it is the job of Congress to go to work to find a solution that is consistent with our system of free enterprise and economic freedom.

Patriotic Spirit

By REP. CHARLES SANDMAN (R.-N.J.)

Never before in American history has there been a greater need for the old-fashioned patriotic spirit that welded the Colonies of the new world into the finest nation in the world for the individual and society collectively. As a counteraction to those defiling our nation, we might hold patriotic demonstrations of our own. We could fly the American flag, which is our symbol of freedom itself, in more places and more often. Perhaps the marching of bands, playing our inspirational national anthem, through the main streets of cities, towns and villages might be effective in giving rebirth to full patriotism. Hearing the Star Spangled Banner might rekindle in us the dedication we must have to preserve the American way of life and serve notice on the world that we are prepared to take whatever action is necessary to keep it forever free.

No Tax Hike Now

By REP. GEORGE BUSH (R.-Tex.)

In my opinion, there is little sentiment in the Ways and Means Committee now for a tax increase. I am not for one now. The question must be asked, will the increase reduce the huge deficit by raising revenues, or will it act as a dampening effect on the economy and thus serve to increase the deficit? My own view, with the economy slow, has been that a tax increase would add to the problem rather than solve it.



Projections for the Administration's 1968 budget deficit run as high as \$15 to \$20 billion. This deficit could possibly result from the Administration's neglect of the second part of the new economics theory. The new economics people have stated that in times of real slowdown, deficit spending can stimulate the economy. However, they lacked the political courage to enforce the second part of their thesis—namely, that the country should operate at a budgetary surplus during great prosperity.

The result has been reckless spending programs which must now be curtailed. If this deficit is not checked, the country very well faces, for the first time, a real threat to its credit abroad.

Missile Defenses

By REP. TOM MESKILL (R.-Conn.)

Recent intelligence reports received by our government show that the Soviet Union is rapidly closing the missile gap. It is known that the Soviets are manufacturing long-range ballistic missiles as fast as they can. It is known that these missiles are at least as good as our own. In addition, the Soviets are building and installing anti-missile defenses. They learned a bitter lesson in the Cuban missile confrontation and they do not ever want to be in that position again. They are working to be in the position

to tell us where to get off while they are secure behind their own missile defenses. The more we dilly-dally over the decision to build our own defenses, the more dangerous the situation becomes for our security. I believe if we do not take prompt action to establish our anti-missile defenses, we will face a real missile gap and the Kremlin will be calling the tune in world affairs.

Big Gov't Dangers

By REP. W. S. (BILL) STUCKEY (D.-Ga.)

One of the greatest challenges facing our people today is the fight to return to the idea that the flower of liberty blooms largest when it is not smothered by the shadow of government power. The plain fact is that people have the best government when it is closest to them because it is under their own watchful eye. They can see the daily operations of their government and judge for themselves what is going well and what is going badly.



In growing numbers today—all across the land—responsible men and women are coming to realize that we are at a crossroads and that the road which leads back to state and local authority is the safest and the best course to follow.

Senate Trims Subsidy

On May 9, the Senate by a 93-to-4 vote approved an amendment to delay enactment of the on-again-off-again campaign fund law (the Long plan) providing for income tax checkoffs to finance presidential elections. (The four senators who voted against the amendment were Republican Hiram Fong of Hawaii, Democrats Frank P. Ramsey and Nelson of Wisconsin, and Williams of New Jersey.) The amendment was a compromise which, while not killing the scheme outright, provides that it will not go into effect until Congress sets guidelines for disbursing the campaign funds. This Congress may never do. The amendment must now go to a House-Senate conference committee and, if approved as expected, must be passed by the full House.

However, the whole campaign fund law could have been repealed outright earlier that day if an amendment sponsored by Sen. Albert Gore (D.-Tenn.) had been passed. Gore's amendment called for the law to expire on September 15. But Administration forces got on the phones and with the assist of some last-minute switches and a tie-breaking vote by Vice President Humphrey, the law was salvaged on a 49-to-48 vote. This rollback appears below. A "nay" vote supports the Administration.

FOR THE AMENDMENT: 48

DEMOCRATS (14): Byrd (Va.), Church, Clark, Eastland, Ervin, Fulbright, Gore, Hill, Kennedy (N.Y.), Lausche, McClellan, Monroney, Morse and Russell.

REPUBLICANS (34): Aiken, Allott, Baker, Bennett, Boggs, Brooke, Carlson, Cooper, Cotton, Curtis, Dirksen, Dominick, Fannin, Fong, Griffin, Hansen, Hatfield, Hickenlooper, Hruska, Javits, Jordan (Idaho), Kuchel, Miller, Mundt, Murphy, Pearson, Percy, Prouty, Scott, Smith, Thurmond, Tower, Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT: 49

DEMOCRATS (48): Anderson, Bartlett, Bayh, Bible, Brewster, Burdick, Byrd (W. Va.), Cannon, Dodd, Ellender, Harris, Hart, Hartke, Hayden, Holland, Hollings, Inouye, Jackson, Jordan (N.C.), Kennedy (Mass.), Long (Mo.), Long (La.), Magnuson, Mansfield, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Montoya, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Smathers, Sparkman, Stennis, Symington, Talmadge, Tydings, Williams (N.J.), Yarbrough and Young (Ohio). Vice President Humphrey (breaking the tie).

REPUBLICANS (1): Morton.
Paired for the amendment: Spong (D).
Paired against the amendment: Gruening (D).
Not voting: Case (R), McCarthy (D).

Five senators switched their positions from the previous vote on the campaign fund law. Voting for repeal of the law on May 2 were Democratic Sens. Jordan (N.C.), Kennedy (Mass.) and Symington (Mo.). But last week these three, along with Sen. Thurston Morton (R.-Ky.), threw in with the Administration at the last minute, while Sen. James Eastland (D.-Miss.) voted this time to ditch the controversial tax checkoff plan.

The Liberals tell us that the American labor movement has "grown up," is now a responsible social and economic force. Let's check that. Let's take a look at . . .

THE KINGSFORT STRIKE

by Sylvester Petro, author of The Kohler Strike

This is a book you should read!
We guarantee you will agree that this is an important book, or return it within 30 days of delivery for money back. Mail coupon below.

KINGSFORT IS A SMALL CITY tucked away at the northeastern edge of Tennessee. There, in the heart of Appalachia country, Kingsport stands as a beacon of prosperity. It is the home of the Kingsport Press, a huge book manufacturing plant which gives good jobs to more than 2,000 men and women. Yet most of these people walked off the job on March 11, 1963. Today, more than four years later, less than half of them are back at work. Why?

Labor lawyer and writer Sylvester Petro has put the answers in *The Kingsport Strike*. He went down to Kingsport, spent weeks there talking to plant and union officials, strikers and their replacements, townspeople. The result is a human-interest story so vivid you find yourself irresistibly caught up in the lives of every one of these people.

Can a Union Pressman Be Happy with \$10,000-Plus a Year?

Jack Rhoten was. He loved his big Miller flatbed press, his friends among the workers and officials, his pay envelope that bulked fatter than those of a few state governors! But Jack hasn't seen his printing press in four years — and he may never see it again. What terrible power could move him, against his will, to turn away from a job he cherished and, maybe, wreck a life that held such promise?

Charlie Heffner walked out too, but he went back to work when he found that the union had lied to him. The union, he discovered, was out to "bust" the Press. That made no sense to Charlie. The company was his life. National union bosses were feeling the pressure from members up North who were then working 3-day weeks while Charlie and his fellow workers racked up the overtime. Why should Charlie walk the plank for them? He began to question union policy. And then the threatening phone calls started.

Terror in the Night

Festus Maddux, a striker who went back to work, awakened in the dead of night. His home was dynamited. Later his broken wife, an Iron Curtain refugee, commented: "I thought I got away from all that stuff — but it's worse over here than it was over there."

The union disagreed. It boasted that violence was "minimal."

This "minimal" violence numbered a mere 1,000 outbreaks. Children were used as shields. An ambulance driver refused to cross a picket line to attend a patient at the company. A grocer was threatened for selling food to people who stayed on the job.

Other "creampuff" striker tactics included bombings, cut power lines, shootings, Molotov cocktails, acid throwing, howling mobs, stonings, beatings.

Does all of this sound like the work of underworld thugs or Nazi storm troopers? *These also are acts winked at by union management — and condoned by our government!*

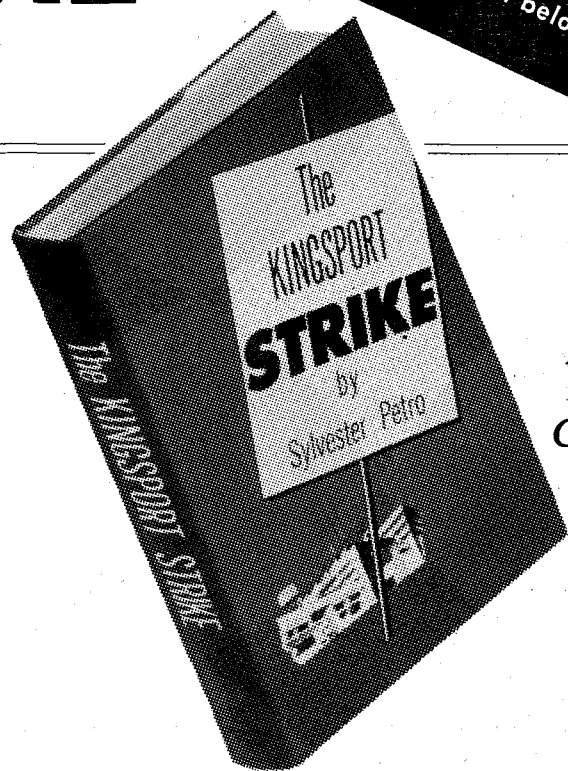
The Real Villains: The NLRB, and the Politicians Who Created It

Sylvester Petro has made a lifetime study of our labor laws. He shows why the Kingsport strike, and hundreds like it, would never have happened if the Left had not fashioned a near-tyrannical monster, the National Labor Relations Board . . . and if the American people had not submitted.

Petro points out that most of our labor laws are neutral in wording. They play no favorites. But the NLRB operates in large measure without legal restraint, *and is far from neutral*. The result is social and economic disasters like the one at Kingsport.

Risk-Free Examination

This is a story you should read. We *guarantee* that you will agree that this is an important book, or return it within 30 days for money back (including *extra* cash to cover your return postage). Mail coupon below with \$5 to your bookseller or Arlington House, 81 Centre Avenue, New Rochelle, New York, 10801.



A Selection of the Conservative Book Club

Nuggets from The Kingsport Strike . . .

- Why "labor solidarity" is a myth . . . a myth imposed by our labor laws.
- Reuther's threat to those "who flirt with the idea that they can defy organized labor."
- Union boycotts Kingsport books. Major encyclopedia publisher would rather switch than fight.
- Implicit in union philosophy: the medieval concept of a static society. (Who are the real reactionaries?)
- Lest we forget: Petro provides valuable review of that monument to UAW terror tactics and ILRB bigotry, the Kohler strike.
- A searching look at wage policy. How it is ultimately fixed by the free market.
- Why unions are largely unnecessary.
- The NLRB kangaroo court. The Kingsport Press is denied a hearing on the very issue on which the union brought charges. NLRB decides case before seeing company legal briefs.
- The union blacklist. (There will now be a pause of three or four decades while the Reuther crowd explains why boycotts of non-union products are good and boycotts of Communist products are bad.)

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Gentlemen: Please send, postpaid, Sylvester Petro's *The Kingsport Strike*. My payment of \$5 is enclosed. If not pleased, I may return book within 30 days for full refund plus extra cash to cover my return postage.

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